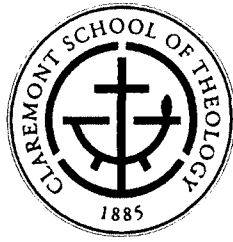POWER AND SPIRIT: THE POLITICAL DIMENSIONS

OF POPULAR SPIRITUAL PRACTICES AS ILLUMINATED

THROUGH LECTIO DIVINA, JESUS PRAYER, PILGRIMAGE, AND LABYRINTH

A Dissertation

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by

Jingu Kwon

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ABSTRACT

Power and Spirit: The Political Dimensions of Popular Spiritual Practices as Illuminated

through Lectio Divina, Jesus Prayer, Pilgrimage, and Labyrinth

by

Jingu Kwon

This dissertation analyzes the political dimensions of Christian spirituality and the

four popular spiritual practices of Lectio Divina, the Jesus Prayer, pilgrimage, and

labyrinth by studying the birth and revival of these practices in the history of the early

church, in the modern and postmodern western political history, and world globalization.

This dissertation seeks a political and historical interpretation of Christian spirituality and

the popular spiritual practices. The primary method the dissertation employs is a

political-historical approach to analyze the political influences found in the birth and

revival of the spiritual practices along with an anthropological approach to examine the

political influences of the current globalizing political world on the spiritual practices and

the ability of Christian spirituality and practices to respond to that progressing world. For

these aims, this dissertation studies the history and the political thoughts of the Ancient

Greek philosophers and the contemporary political events. Political ideas of the

philosophers, theologians, and scholars have been applied to interpret the political

dimensions of Christian spirituality and the four popular practices. The insights of

scholars of history, philosophy, politics, theology, globalization, spirituality, and

geography have been utilized in order to construct a history of the four practices.

The main argument of this dissertation is that Christian spirituality and spiritual practices are sensitive to political changes. This sensitivity could be called the political nature of Christian spirituality and spiritual practices. Sensitivity first means that Christian spirituality and spiritual practices embrace spiritual-political ideas. Second, these generate and pursue authority and power with which the Church can function as a government for the spiritual well-being of its members. Third, these are capable of creating a new political culture in the Church. Fourth, these help Christians to resist or support political activities of power. Fifth, these provide spiritual shelter and territory. Sixth, these have the capacity to transform themselves for new political situations. Seventh, these are indicators of the influences of political activities. Eighth, these change the body, mind, spirit, and the world. Ninth, these are the means for unity, identity, and citizenship. Tenth, these can be used for politics, and vice versa. Eleventh, these are power.

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Public Support, Freedom, and Rights

        Ideal City, Citizen, Ideology, and End and Means

        Government: Policy, Law, and Legitimacy

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        Territory: Location, Conflict, and Warfare

        Public Support, Freedom, and Rights

CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Politics, Spirituality, and Spiritual Practices

Thesis

Christian spirituality has embodied political aspects throughout its history, conceptualization, and practice. The political dimensions of Christian spiritual practices, however, have been overlooked or unrecognized by Christian leaders, scholars, and average Christians. The social and communal dimensions of Christian spirituality have been emphasized and studied. Yet, scholars have not concretely examined the political dimensions of Christian spirituality and practices. This study presupposes that Christian spirituality includes a political nature. This historical and political study of Christian spirituality and spiritual practices will bring surface the political nature and dimensions of Christian spirituality as illuminated through the four popular spiritual practices of Lectio Divina, the Jesus Prayer, pilgrimage, and the labyrinth, by exploring the history, the significant figures, the content of the practices, the spiritual and political texts and contexts, and the history of influential non-Christian practices of each. The study will then provide a suggestion for spiritual formation in the globalizing world. The final purpose of this study is to reflect on the political nature and dimensions of Christian spirituality and spiritual practices to find the meanings in the political nature of Christian spirituality and to define the relationship between Christian spirituality and politics in our globalizing world.

Discussion and Formulation of the Issue

Christian spirituality has its origins in Jesus, his first followers, and their social, political, and religious contexts; it has a pre-history in ancient religions and cultures. The primary texts of Christian spirituality are the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament. Also included are thick volumes of books and writings by saints, church leaders, monks and nuns, and lay Christians; all utilized as core texts. As the contexts of Christian spirituality were social, political, and religious, its texts reflect the social, political, and religious contexts of each historical period. Therefore, we should be able to find the political dimensions of Christian spirituality in the texts and contexts. Christian spirituality does not limit its resources to Christian texts and contexts. It has adopted, transformed, and developed spiritual practices and ideas from other religions and cultures. Walter Principe noted in his essay *Broadening the Focus* in *Minding the Spirit* that "to read a text in all these context is to situate an author's spirituality in a way that will lead to critical judgment and assimilation of this spirituality." Sandra Schneiders stated that "one of the objects of spirituality is the spiritual life."[1] Christian spirituality is contextual and life-centered, both spiritually and politically. Christian spirituality is a living entity that interacts with various groups of people, theologies, historical events, social and political changes, and cultures and religions.

If Christian spirituality is contextual, it should contain political elements from its beginning in its political contexts. Gutierrez wrote that, "Every great spirituality is

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[1] Sandra M. Schmeiders, "A Hermeneutical Approach to the Study of Christian Spirituality," in *Minding the Spirit: The Study of Christian Spirituality*, ed. Elizabeth A. Dreyer and Mark S. Burrows (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 51.

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connected with the great historical movement of the age in which it was formulated."[2] If Christian spirituality had a political motive for formation, we will see the motive in the texts, contexts, and practices. We should see the political dimensions in the historical process of change and transformation of its practices. For this, we first need to study how the spiritual practices like prayer, pilgrimage, and monastic life were formed and have changed. Through this, we will find the political meaning of the formation and transformation of the spiritual practices.

The spiritual practices have been formed and changed by spiritual leaders. The practices did not spring up from nowhere. The practices have origins and histories. We cannot clearly trace the origin, but we have enough sources to reveal the process of transformation in the practices. Here we should study the spiritual leaders, political leaders, and political events during the process of transformation.

This study also needs to clearly show how Christian spirituality and the practices are political. What political dimensions can we observe from each spiritual practice and event? What political dimensions should be described and analyzed? I will briefly summarize the political dimensions of Christian Spirituality in the chapter below as a preliminary study and to develop my ideas throughout this study.

Finally, if Christian spirituality is political, we should talk about why we need to discuss this. If its practices have political dimensions, this should mean that we can develop and use these. If practices have changed in different contexts, this should mean that we can change these in our political context. We eventually need to talk about the

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[2] Gustavo Gutiérrez, *We Drink from Our Own Wells: The Spiritual Journey of a People* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2003), 26.

political possibility and potential of Christian spirituality and the spiritual practices for our globalizing world.

Audiences

This dissertation is intended as an introduction to the political implications observed in the history of the popular spiritual practices. Personally as a writer of the dissertation, I am writing to the people who are indifferent, intentionally or not, to the political capacity of Christian spirituality and spiritual practices. There are Christians who think that tying spiritual practices with politics is a taboo in Christian culture. There are also people who think that Christian spiritual practices are done for imaginary or illusory self-satisfaction. This dissertation speaks to these people and states that Christian spirituality and spiritual practices are sensitive to politics. This sensitivity does not point out a corruption of the purity of Christian spirituality. Rather, it should reflect the political capacity. This dissertation is also intended to help spiritual Christians to understand their spirituality and practices in their globalized, political world.

Literature and Limitation

There are books about the psychology of prayer, the history of prayers and other spiritual practices, the science and neurology of spiritual experiences, Christianity and politics, and so on. However, there are no books about the political dimensions of the specific Christian spiritual practices that have been popular over centuries. There are plenty of books on Lectio Divina, the Jesus Prayer, pilgrimage, and the labyrinth. These introduce the history, usage, meanings, and so on. However, none describe the political meanings of the history and usage of the popular spiritual practices. Many books talk

about the relationship between religions and politics. On the other hand, those are not interested in the political dimensions of specific spiritual practices. The lack of literature and previous studies are limitations of this study. This study, however, will borrow abundant insights and historical knowledge and findings from many books on prayer, spirituality, the four popular practices, religion, sociology, science, and politics. This study will collect and analyze what each book and study delivers.

Methodology, Methods, and Limitation

This dissertation gains new knowledge by examining political cause and effect in the history of Christian spirituality and the four popular spiritual practices. For this, the dissertation employs political ideas and themes in order to read the history of Christian spirituality and the spiritual practices; then, it attempts to reconstruct a political history of Christian spirituality and the spiritual practices. The knowledge that informs this dissertation is based on the interpretation of this reconstructed history of the spiritual practices. In the first chapter, some select ideas and themes of the West, along with some historical political events, are interpreted and adopted to provide a political perspective for reading about the history of Christian spirituality and the spiritual practices. The rest of the dissertation has research used for knowledge throughout this preliminary work. The primary methods the dissertation employs are a political-historical approach through which this dissertation analyzes and examines the political influences found in the birth and revival of the spiritual practices and an anthropological approach to analyze and examine political influences of our current globalizing political world on Christian spirituality and the spiritual practices and how to respond to that progressing world. This dissertation focuses on the political influences on Christian spirituality and the spiritual

practices rather than specific spiritual experiences in political contexts or through

spiritual practices. Therefore, in sum, one may call the overall method of this dissertation

a method of correlation in the study of theology. As Graham and et al. introduced, the

correlative method emphasizes theology's interaction with culture, politics, science, and

other disciplines "*in public*."[3] This dissertation replaces theology with spirituality and

spiritual practices. Borrowing the words from Graham and et al., other characteristics of

the correlative method of theology found in this dissertation can be stated as the

following: 1) regarding cultural pluralism as both challenge and opportunity 2) accepting

cultural, philosophical, and religious differences and influences for further dialogue 3)

stressing the community's locatedness in history, culture, and politics 4) concerning how

accessible Christian theology (replaced by spirituality in this dissertation).[4] However, the

correlative method in this dissertation is not exactly the same as the correlative method in

theological studies. We should call the correlative method in this dissertation a weak

correlative method, as the main thesis is how Christian spirituality and the spiritual

practices are political. This dissertation mentions the influence of spiritual experience on

politics, but still the political influences Christian spirituality, and the practices are the

main concern. And also, this dissertation does not seek a mutual interrogation of the

revised critical relation of Tracy.[5] This dissertation reads Christian spirituality and the

spiritual practices through politics, not vice versa. The questions and answers of the

dissertation are strongly political and weakly spiritual.

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[3] Elaine L Graham, Heather Walton, and Frances Ward, *Theological Reflection: Methods* (London: SCM, 2005), 138.

[4] Graham, Walton, and Ward, *Theological Reflection*, 138–40.

[5] Graham, Walton, and Ward, *Theological Reflection*, 160.

A Preliminary Lens to See: Political Themes as Methods

Before studying the political dimensions of the spiritual practices, we need to know what can be considered "politics" and "political." To say spirituality and spiritual practices are political or have political dimensions, a definition, or multifold definitions, of politics that will be used for this study must be stated. Unfortunately, like spirituality, politics have many definitions. From ancient thinkers to contemporary fellow humans, each person or group has understood politics from different viewpoints in different contexts. Therefore, varied definitions and understandings of politics exist. The history of politics is as long as the history of the collective human lives, so this study cannot cover each understanding of politics from each political community and time period. This study will explore a few important political thoughts and understandings of politics that are widely used in the field of political philosophy and political history. For this, we will follow the historical timeline of political philosophy. Some important political events will be briefly stated. This study chose philosophers, politicians, and theologians by considering the aim of the whole dissertation.

The aim of this chapter is to see what politics are and what political is. However, we have to accept that this chapter is not aiming to develop a new definition of politics or the political. This chapter, in a technical sense, is not a serious study of political science. Instead, by examining some political thoughts from the history of the West, this chapter will test the validity of the presupposition of this dissertation: "Christian spirituality is political." As we use the term in our ordinary lives, politics denotes the politics of a state, the politics between parties, or among countries. Some use this term for general societies or institutions like the church, companies, any institution with a certain hierarchy, or

groups of people gathered for the same goal or different goals. The other term, political, is used for broader purposes and a more general meaning. "Everything is political" is a maxim for those people who use this term broadly. At the end of this chapter, we will decide which term and meaning should be applied to our presupposition.

Political Themes in the Ancient Western Thoughts and Politics

Political Themes in Plato and Aristotle

The term "politics" is derived from *polis*, city-state.[6] Two of the first writers on politics were Plato and Aristotle. Both studied and taught in Athens, the great *polis* of Greece. These two great thinkers are important to this study because they influenced the political thoughts and practices of their contemporaries and many other thinkers and politicians of later generations. For this section, we will succinctly summarize their political ideas.

Plato wrote in *Republic*: "Well, then, a city comes to exit, I believe, because none of us is individually self-sufficient, but each has many needs he cannot satisfy…Then, because we have many needs and because one of us call on another out of one need, and a third out of a different need, we gather many into a single settlement as partners and helpers."[7] Plato believed that the *polis* where politics is practiced by citizens appeared primarily for the needs of individual citizens. To satisfy each individual citizen's needs, what were required for the *polis*, which is completely good, are wisdom, courage, temperance, and justice.[8] Emphasizing justice, Plato thought, as Socrates recounted, "For

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[6]Andrew Heywood, *Politics* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, England: Macmillan, 1997), 5.
[7] Plato, *Republic*, trans. C. D. C. Reeve (Indianapolis: Hackett Pub., 2004), 369b.
[8] Plato, *Republic*, 427e.

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it has become clear to us that it is never just to harm anyone"[9] and that "having and doing

of one's own, of what belongs to one, would be agreed to be justice."[10] For Plato, justice

is doing what is assigned to one and what s/he likes to do without harming anyone.

Justice, therefore, means a harmonious state in which every citizen does what they ought

to do. Doing what one ought to do without harming anyone and for the needs of oneself

and other citizens is what politics in *polis* basically ought to be according to Plato.

Based on Plato's ideal *polis* is his analysis of soul and *kallipolis*, beautiful city. As

Reeve, Begum and et al write[11], Plato divided the soul into three elements, of appetitive,

spirited, and rational; and *kallipolis* into three parts, of workers, guardians, and rulers.

Plato argued that "Until philosophers rule as kings in their cities, or those who are

nowadays called kings and leading men become genuine and adequate philosopher..."[12]

A rational ruler is a philosopher-King. Unlike the lovers of honor, the spirited guardians,

and the lovers of money, or the workers pursuing appetite, this philosopher-king is the

lover of wisdom who "strives above all for truth of every kind."[13] According to Reeve,

Plato's philosopher-king constructed a political system as a system of socialization and

education "to socialize desire so as to turn people around from the pursuit of what they

falsely believe to be happiness to the pursuit of true happiness."[14]

It seems, for Plato, that politics was not just a mere skill or technique of a ruler or

an elite group that decides what the leaders have to do or do not or what the citizens

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[9] Plato, *Republic*, 335e.
[10] Plato, *Republic*, 434a.
[11] Plato, *Republic*, *xxxi*; Shagufta Begum and Batool Awan, "Plato's Concept of Justice and Current Political Scenario in Pakistan," *International Journal of Humanities & Social Science* 3, no. 11 (June 2013): 79–80.
[12] Plato, *Republic*, 473c–73d.
[13] Plato, *Republic*, 485d.
[14] Plato, *Republic*, xiv.

should do or do not. In Plato's *Republic*, politics is first for a mutual need and second for justice, harmony, and happiness. In a good political city, every citizen knows their desires and achieves true happiness. Plato understood that humans have appetite, spirit, and reason and that even a beautiful city just resembles humanity. He pictures an ideal political city where all three elements work harmoniously for political virtues. Plato doubted the effectiveness of law or legislation on "contracts, employment, lawsuits, establishment of juries and taxation, or the regulation of civic institutions"[15] because it could limit the leaders' ability and freedom to govern the city ideally.[16] The success or failure of the city should be up to the highly educated rulers' decisions. The only exception of a good legislation is already given religious laws that are about "The establishing of temples and sacrifices, and other forms of service to gods, daimons, and heroes; the burial of the dean, and the services that ensure the favor of those who have gone to the other world."[17]

Other political themes found in Plato's *Republic* are, from Reeve's introduction, private life and private property, which Plato denies, censorship, which Plato supports, and freedom and autonomy, which Plato conditionally rejects for the happiness of the citizens.[18] In addition, Purshouse points out that Plato criticizes his own Athenian democracy. According to Purshouse, Plato's strongest criticism was due to the political leaders of his city who "lacked the knowledge, ability, and training to rule well."[19]

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[15] Luke Purshouse, *Plato's Republic* (London: Continuum International Publishing, 2010), 48,
[16] Plato., *Republic*, 427a; Purshouse, *Plato's Republic*, 48.
[17] Plato., *Republic*, 427c; Purshouse, *Plato's Republic*, 48.
[18] Plato., *Republic*, xxii–xxvii.
[19] Purshouse, *Plato's Republic*, 11.

Aristotle in *Politics* wrote, "it is evident that the city belongs to the class of things that exist by nature, and that man is by nature a political animal. He who is without a city, by reason of his own nature and not of some accident, is either a poor sort of being, or a being higher than man: he is like the man of whom Homer wrote in denunciation: Clanless and lawless and hearthless is he."[20] In this remark, Aristotle mentioned the city, humans, human nature, politics, supernatural being, people without a state, tribe, law, and family. Aristotle's state, like in Plato's *Republic*, is the *polis*. For him the *polis* is the final and perfect association that reached the height of full self-efficiency.[21] This polis exists for a good life. Aristotle writes that "thus the purpose of a city is the good life, and these institutions [family, brotherhoods, religious gatherings, and social amusements] are means to that end. A city is constituted by the association of families and villages in a perfect and self-sufficing existence; and such an existence, on our definition, consists in living a happy and truly valuable life"[22] Aristotle does not separate the good life of the individual from that of the city. He says that the good life is the chief end and the common interest.[23] The good life is both for the whole community and each individual.[24]

As see in Aristotle's view on politics, humans are political because humans need other humans to make their lives better and self-sufficing. Humans are finally human when one is with others. In this sense, the political animal is a social animal. This is not the only reason Aristotle called humans political animals. He brought "the management

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[20] Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. Ernest Barker and R. F. Stalley, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 1253^{a}2.

[21] Aristotle, *Politics*, 1252^{b}27.

[22] Aristotle, *Politics*, 1280^{b}29.

[23] Aristotle, *Politics*, 1278^{b}15.

[24] Aristotle, *Politics*, 1278^{b}15.

of the household and the control of slaves"[25] so as to support his statement, man is a political animal. If family and village are the basic units that constitute the city, the city is a political space where the larger family and slaves should be governed well. Female adults and children are undeveloped, so they are not citizens who can participate in the politics of the *polis*.[26] Slaves cannot have happiness or cannot decide what they ought to do for their living.[27]

The good life for Aristotle is the most desirable ideal in his *polis*. The good life as Plato understands is a status in which citizens achieve the highest good, happiness. Aristotle writes that happiness is good activity, not mere pleasure.[28] Happiness is activity "in accordance with virtue."[29] Virtue is not the end, but means for good activity, true happiness. According to Brown's outline of Aristotle's division of virtue, the virtues are moral and intellectual.[30] Examples of moral virtues are voluntary actions, courage, temperance, liberality, magnificence, pride, friendliness, truthfulness, justice, and so on.[31] Intellectual virtues are scientific knowledge, art knowledge, practical wisdom knowledge, intuitive reason knowledge, philosophic wisdom, and relational knowledge between practical wisdom and political science.[32] These virtues are, again, not the end, but make people good and work.[33]

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[25] Aristotle, *Politics*, 1278^{b}15.

[26] Aristotle, *Politics*, 1277^{b}33.

[27] Aristotle, *Politics*, 1280^{a}25.

[28] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. David Ross (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1176b.

[29] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1177a.

[30] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, xxxvii.

[31] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, xxxvi–xl.

[32] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, xl.

[33] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1106a.

Aristotle, therefore, writes that "Virtue is praiseworthy, but happiness is above praise."[34] To understand Aristotle's concept of happiness, we need to see his concept of soul. Aristotle calls happiness an activity of soul and understands that the soul has two elements: rational and irrational.[35] Therefore, humans live, perceive, and think by and with soul.[36] Aristotle does not separate the soul from the body. Soul is the form, and body is the matter. Only when they are in union are these meaningful. Soul does not exist alone. Body is the soul's instrument.[37] Body and soul in union eventually have to make an activity, a good activity; in other words, they create virtues for the good life and happiness. And then the good life and happiness are, in reverse, a free and voluntary citizen's life in which the citizen does what he or she has to do for other citizens and the city itself. This voluntary action means an action done through knowledge about the object of the action, the instrument of the action, and the end of the action and without reluctance and coercion.[38]

Finally, in the last chapter of *The Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle writes that "the life according to life reason is the best and pleasant, since reason more than anything else is man. This life therefore is also the happiest."[39] He understands that a life lived according to reason is a contemplative life.[40] Rorty summarizes Aristotle's contemplation as, "Although the primary and paradigmatic objects of contemplation are the divine, the fixed stars, and perhaps mathematical objects, the condition for something being

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[34] Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 1101b.

[35] Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 1102a.

[36] Aristotle, *De Anima (On the Soul)*, trans. Hugh Lawson-Tancred (London: Penguin, 2004), 414a.

[37] Aristotle, *De Anima*, 415b.

[38] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1135a.

[39] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1178a.

[40] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1178a–1178b.

contemplated is that it be necessary, unchanging, eternal, that it be self-contained, noble."[41] This is true, for the *polis* is, as in Aristotle's understanding of *polis* stated above, the final and perfect association that reached the height of full self-efficiency. Each citizen should be human to be perfect, final, and self-sufficing. Contemplation pursues a life divine. For this life of contemplation in the *polis*, Aristotle thinks that law, training, and good habits are required.[42]

Other important political themes from Aristotle are private property, which he thinks positively, especially for its common use[43], citizenship and citizen, which Aristotle considers one who "permanently share in the administration of justice and the holding of office,"[44] constitution, which he equates it with civic body itself and sovereign in all issues[45], territory, which he thinks should be a moderate size,[46] and the social structure, to which he includes priests along with farmers, craftsmen, a military force, and a propertied class.[47]

Politics in Plato and Aristotle are the politics of the city, *polis*. Thus *polis* is the territory of the politics to Plato and Aristotle. In the politics of *polis*, the significant matters are humans' needs. justice, happiness, habit or custom, law, virtue, classes and citizen, unity or harmony, forms of government, property, rulers or sovereign, political and military action, reason, and soul. In short, the politics of *polis* in Plato and Aristotle is

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[41] Amelie Oksenberg Rorty, "The Place of Contemplation in Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics," *Mind,* New Series, 87, no. 347 (July 1, 1978): 344.

[42] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1180a–1180b. Aristotle divides political justice into two parts: legal and natural. See Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 1134a.

[43] Aristotle, *Politics*, 1262^b35–1263^a30.

[44] Aristotle, *Politics*, 1274^b26.

[45] Aristotle, *Politics*, 1278^b6.

[46] Aristotle, *Politics*, 1326^b22.

[47] Aristotle, *Politics* ,1328^b2.

to acquire, maintain, and develop the citizens' happiness through various means like social, philosophical, political means, and so on. What is learned is that Plato and Aristotle do not agreed with each other on some matters like the concept of happiness, the need of law, the nature of soul, and ideal type of government. We could see that, to achieve political happiness, one like Aristotle would say that law is a definite element for good politics. The other, like Plato, would say that law could a stumbling block to a good ruler's political action. Likewise, one could say something, and the other could say different things about different political elements or themes of the age. We can even find differences between the teacher Plato and the student Aristotle. In this section, we find common themes of politics shared by Plato and Aristotle due to their relationship.

Plato and Aristotle share some common political elements and themes to explain what politics are and what should be the end of political action in *polis*. In the next chapter, we can see completely different understandings of the politics from different thinkers. Therefore, what we need to do for the following chapters is see what political elements and themes are being handled by thinkers, scholars, or politicians and to summarize how each thinker understands politics. Each definition and understanding is meaningful and valuable because it demonstrates the thinkers of each generation understood politics in each political context. This study needs an understanding of politics that could be applied to the long history of spirituality. We need to see what important matters have been reflected in politics and why those are considered matters of politics. Then we can expect to have an understanding of politics with which we can apply to spirituality and spiritual practice to find their political dimensions.

Political Themes in Cicero

Cicero, a Roman politician of 1st century BC, says in *The Republic* that "a republic is the property of the public."[48] This is because the public consents to the law of the republic and shares interests.[49] Cicero also thinks that it is human nature to live together.[50] Cicero's republic is not the city-state, but the Roman Empire. Above, Plato and Aristotle both accepted the concept of the public property of the city. They believed that it was natural for humans to gather together for the need of each individual and the public. The different in Cicero is that the law is one definite condition for the republic. For Cicero, the law is the highest reason and a force of nature, inherent in nature, which enjoins right action and forbids wrong-doing.[51] As the land, sea, and universe obey God, the public is subject to the supreme law.[52] The subjection of human life to the law includes the subjection to the official authorities such as magistrates which include the Dictator or Master of People, Consuls, Magister Equitum or Master of the Cavalry, Censor, Praetors, Aediles, and Quaestors.[53]

With Cicero's understanding of law, the public, and the republic there is also his understanding of the relationship between God and humans. He believed that God and humans are in "a primordial partnership."[54] Reason, the best thing and law itself, is in both humans and God. They share reason; therefore, they share the law and justice too.

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[48]Cicero, *Republic,* 1.39 in Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Republic and The Laws,* trans. Niall Rudd, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 19.

[49] Cicero, *Republic,* 1.39.

[50] Cicero, *Republic,* 1.39.

[51] Cicero, *Laws,* 1.18 in Cicero, *Republic and The Laws,* 101.

[52] Cicero, *Laws,* 3.3 in Cicero, *Republic and The Laws,* 150.

[53]For the detail of each magistrate' legal rights and duty, see Appendix in Cicero, *Republic and The Law,* 171–173.

[54] Cicero, *Laws,* 1.23 in Cicero, *Republic and The Laws,* 105

Cicero saw the universe as "a single community shared by God and [humans]."[55] All

beings who share reason, law, and justice, belong to the same state and must obey to the

same powers and authorities.[56] He calls the celestial system which everyone obeys "the

divine mind."[57] Also, God endows and implants "the divine gift of mind" in humans.[58]

Humans are able to know God and their origin. The same moral excellence is in both

humans and gods. The moral excellence is "the completion and perfection of nature."[59]

Another difference is that, as Walcot introduces in his article, Cicero thinks that

"the special function of the state to protect private property."[60] Neither Plato nor Aristotle

thinks the same way. In chapter 3 of *On Duties*, Latin title *De Officiis*, Cicero justifies the

reason for private property and the accumulation of property by the noble citizens. He

says that it is not only for us, but also for our children, kindred, friends, and especially for

our country.[61] Walcot makes a remark, stating: "Here Cicero follows the Stoics and is

departing from traditional values..."[62] What is important for Cicero are the rights to own

private property. He believes that it is good both for the individuals and the community.

Cicero even equates a good person's profit with virtue.[63] Plato should not agree with

Cicero, saying that it will dissolve the city[64] while Aristotle maybe pleasantly agree with

him, saying that it will promote the diligence and moral goodness.[65]

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[55] Cicero, *Laws*, 1.23.
[56] Cicero, *Laws*, 1.23.
[57] Cicero, *Laws*, 1.24 in Cicero, *Republic and The Laws*, 105.
[58] Cicero, *Laws*, 1.24.
[59] Cicero, *Laws*, 1.25 in Cicero, *Republic and The Laws*, 105.
[60] P. Walcot, "Cicero on Private Property: Theory and Practice," *Greece and Rome*, Second Series, 22, no. 2 (October 1, 1975): 120.
[61] Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De Officiis* (London: A. L. Humphreys, 1902), 3.64.
[62] Walcot, "Cicero on Private Property," 123.
[63] Cicero, *De Officiis*, 3.65.
[64] Plato., *Republic*, 462b.
[65] Aristotle, *Politics*, 1263^{a}8.

Cicero's concept of wisdom shows how it is different from Plato and Aristotle

and the themes of his political thoughts we did not explore. Cicero writes in the *Republic*:

> Wisdom encourages us to make money, increase our possessions, and extend our
> boundaries...the bounds of empire...also to rule over as many subjects as possible, enjoy
> pleasure, and revel in power, supremacy, and dominion. Justice, on the other hand,
> teaches us to spare all men, take thought for the interests of mankind, give everyone his
> due, and not lay hands on the things belong to the gods, the state, or somebody else.[66]

In this remark on wisdom, Cicero mentions money, possessions other than money,

territory, the subjects of the state's political activity, pleasure, power, supremacy, and

dominion. These things can be divided into two categories: private and collective. As a

politician and as an advocate of private property, Cicero draws a sharp distinction

between the private profit and the collective profit. Moreover, as we have seen above, he

argues that private property is eventually for all and for the state. It seems, however, that

he confirms in the remark above that the increase of the collective profit through the

state's political activity gives bigger profit to the individuals, especially to the noble

citizens of the Roman Empire, and this is the duty of the state.

For Cicero, the desire to increase their profit is also a common nature of the

individual and the state. The two agents of political activity are in an organic union for

their profit. He writes again:

> The villain, on the other hand, is praised, made much of, universally adored; offices,
> military commands, wealth, and riches of every kind are heaped upon him; in a word, he
> is judged by everyone to be supremely good and eminently worthy of all gifts of fortune.
> Now tell me, who would be mad enough to doubt which of the two he would prefer to
> be? What is true of individuals is also true of nations. No state is so stupid as not to prefer
> wicked dominion to virtuous subjection.[67]

In the first sentence of this section, we read that Cicero's saying a republic is the property

of the public. Considering the succinct study of Cicero we have performed, we could say

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[66] Cicero, *Republic*, 3.24 in Cicero, *Republic and The Laws*, 66.
[67] Cicero, *Republic*, 3.27 in Cicero, *Republic and The Laws*, 67.

that, for Cicero, a republic must guarantee more profit to its public. The private and

public property should not stay the same. The increase of private and the public property

is one significant end of the state. In reverse, this kind of the increase of the property

could guarantee the security of the life and property of the private and the public. This is

also the end of the Empire in which he lived and worked as a politician.

Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero

Plato and Aristotle draw a thin line between the private and the public interest

while Cicero draws a bold line. Plato and Aristotle do not consider the expansion of the

city-state in their political thoughts while Cicero recognizes that the expansion of the

Empire is necessary for both the citizen and the state. Plato and Aristotle provide

philosophical and moral understanding of the politics of the *polis* while Cicero shows the

political reality in the Roman Empire. All three are interested in the need and the interest

of the individual citizen and the public, but Plato and Aristotle emphasize more on the

common need and interest than Cicero. Cicero, like Plato and Aristotle, recognizes the

communal interest. He, however, distinguishes the private property and the public

property and appropriates the organic relationship between the two political agents, the

individual citizen and the state. All three thinkers try to identify the relationship between

the divine political realm and the human political realm. Plato and Aristotle see the divine

realm in the human political realm as a source and motive to the just action and right

happiness while Cicero considers the divine realm in the human political realm as the

justification of the state's law; that is, the reason for the sovereignty of the state to limit

the rights and freedom of its citizens, to punish violators, and to conquer enemies.

In these three thinkers, we have seen many political themes in their political thoughts. The concept of politics and the themes of politics can vary depending on each thinker's place, time, vocation, knowledge, culture, and belief. Plato and Aristotle are the Greek-polis philosophers of the 5th and 4th century B.C. Cicero is an active politician-philosopher from the Roman Empire of the 1st century B.C. Plato's political thoughts preceded the other two. Aristotle can, in a sense, be placed between the other two. Cicero is the most recent among the three. However, we could not call the differences between the political thoughts of these three thinkers a development of political thoughts. It is rather the changes and application of the different political theories to each political context. In the next sections, we will study some medieval thinker's political thoughts and themes and figure out how they are changed and varied.

Political Themes in the Medieval Western Thoughts and Politics

Before 16th Century

Political Themes in Augustine and Aquinas

Augustine is a theologian and philosopher of the 4th and 5th century. Although he is not always said to be a medieval figure, the time period he lived and worked could be considered as the years toward the end of ancient Western history, the fall of Rome. As written in *Confessions*, the life story of Anthony the Great affected Augustine's conversion to Christianity. Augustine was born after Constantine died, witnessed Christianizing Roman Empire and the Romanizing of Christianity, and died in the middle of the decline of the Empire.

Cicero, especially in his lost writing *Hortensius*, was the one who led young Augustine to philosophy and even to "the study of sacred scripture."[68] Scholars say that neo-Platonism, the Platonist found in Augustine's writing, greatly influenced Augustine's thought.[69] Neo-Platonism is a philosophical school that emphasizes the One or the Good and the emanation of all beings and things from the One. The emanation proceeds in order from the spiritual reality and beings to the material things. All beings and things are eventually good. Clark gives an explanation of neo-Platonism:

> A person's life project is to contemplate the Good...and to find proper place of one's divine Soul within this orderly cosmos... The highest level is the One, with Mind just below... All natural beings are souls. These many things all seek to return to the One. Human beings, just below Mind, are both divine and material. They have a godlike soul, 'a real self' in which intelligence resides, temporarily trapped in an earthly body.[70]

What Augustine earned through neo-Platonism is a spiritual reality and a solution for the problem of evil.[71] For Augustine, God is the creator of the universe. All things came from God, the unchangeable and the eternal. Evil is the result of the fall of the first man, Adam, who practiced free will. Adam was not evil. Because all things come from the good God, nothing can be evil. Evil, for Augustine, is something that destroys the creation of God. If a sword is given by God to peel an apple, Adam can choose to peel an apple or to kill a person. Adam, likewise, had free will given by God, and ate the fruit from the tree. This action with his free will destroyed the original nature of humans given by God. Therefore, corrupted human nature needs to be restored through the grace of God.

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[68] John Hammond Taylor, "St. Augustine and the 'Hortensius' of Cicero," *Studies in Philology* 60, no. 3 (July 1, 1963): 494.

[69] Colin Brown, *Christianity & Western Thought : A History of Philosophers, Ideas and Movements.* Vol 1 of 3. (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1990), 94.

[70] "Neoplatonism," in Kelly James Clark, Richard Lints, and James K. A. Smith, *101 Key Terms in Philosophy and Their Importance for Theology* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004), 58.

[71] Brown, *Christianity and Western Thought*, 94.

Augustine's understandings of humanity and city that consists human kingdoms are formulated according to his beliefs above. In the 15th book of *City of God*, he says that there are two human races and two loves: the one who follows human standards and the other who follow God's will.[72] That is, the one who loves God, and the other who not. There are also two cities: one city is predestined to reign with God for all eternity, and the other city is to be eternally punished. Then he writes in the same book that "Thus we find in the early city a double significance; in one respect it displays its own presence, and in the other it serves by its presence to signify the heavenly city."[73] Augustine thinks that the human city is established by human nature corrupted by sin. Thus this city indulges in carnal pleasures, makes peace through wars, and eventually seeks mortal life. This city cannot last forever. On the other hand, the city of God only can bring eternal peace and a happy life. The citizens of this city will enjoy "ultimate state of the City of God," that is eternal life or eternal life in peace.[74]

Augustine says in his letter to Boniface that military service can please God.[75] People like David, Cornelius the Centurion, and other biblical figures who were engaged in military service are the examples. Physical strength is a gift of God.[76] One should not use this gift against God. Peace should be desired, and war should inevitably aim at having and preserving peace. Throughout *City of God*, Augustine argues that the republic, the Roman Empire, cannot have true justice. The true justice only belongs to

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[72] Augustine, *City of God*, 15.1 in *From Irenaeus to Grotius: A Sourcebook in Christian Political Thoughts, 100-1625*. ed. Oliver O'Donovan and Joan Lockwood O'Donovan (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1999),143.

[73] Augustine, *City of God*, 15.2 in *From Irenaeus to Grotius*, ed. O'Donovan and O'Donovan, 145.

[74] Augustine, *City of God*, 19.11 in *From Irenaeus to Grotius*, ed. O'Donovan and O'Donovan, 152.

[75] Augustine, *Letter 189* in *From Irenaeus to Grotius*, ed. O'Donovan and O'Donovan, 134.

[76] Augustine, *Letter 189* in *From Irenaeus to Grotius*, ed. O'Donovan and O'Donovan, 135.

God and serves God. What the republic can have is a relative justice. In the second book

of *City of God*, he writes that "Law should not be rigorous…Law should prohibit

economic harm to our neighbors, not moral harm to ourselves."[77] In letter number 153, to

Macedonius, accordingly, Augustine explains that laws are established for the wrong

doing of the wealthy owners. These laws are civil laws that are the result of the wealthy

owners' bad use of their wealth with which the wealthy become "less injurious."[78]

Augustine opposes to Cicero's understanding of the Roman Empire as a

commonwealth. Cicero, as seen above, thinks that a commonwealth, the Roman Empire

for him, is the property of the public, for the public consents to the law, i.e., justice, and

shares interest. Augustine believes that the Roman Empire lacks justice, and a true justice

can only be found in the city whose ruler is Christ.[79] Any city or republic, small or big,

for Augustine, cannot have true rightness.[80] Consequently, he argues that "The life of

body is the soul, and the life of man – the happy life, that is – is God."[81]

Augustine, however, does not say that Christians disobey the justice of the city of

humans. Rather, he emphasizes that the church and its members are both in the two cities,

so Christians should contribute to both city as dual citizens of the two cities by promoting

peace and love. Other themes in Augustine's political thought are slavery and obedience,

which he accepts as an order of society and the need for a wise judge, through whom an

innocent person should not be killed.

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[77] Augustine, *City of God*, 2.20 in *From Irenaeus to Grotius*, ed. O'Donovan and O'Donovan, 138.
[78] Augustine, *Letter 153 26* in *From Irenaeus to Grotius*, ed. O'Donovan and O'Donovan, 130.
[79] Augustine, *City of God*, 19.21 in *From Irenaeus to Grotius*, ed. O'Donovan and O'Donovan, 161.
[80] Augustine, *City of God*, 19.21 in *From Irenaeus to Grotius*, ed. O'Donovan and O'Donovan, 162.
[81] Augustine, *City of God*, 19.24 in *From Irenaeus to Grotius*, ed. O'Donovan and O'Donovan, 163.

Aquinas lived in a totally different historical context than that of Augustine.

Aquinas was born in 1224 and died in 1274. Aquinas was born in a feudal noble family.

His family put him in the Benedictine monastery at Monte Casino at the age of five.

Before Aquinas was born, and after Augustine died, there were several significant

historic events in the history of the West. There was first the Council of Chalcedon in 451

which affirmed the core teachings of the Church, the nature of God-man Jesus, and the

theological rationality of the mother of God. The Western Roman Empire disappeared in

476. The rise of monasticism around 5th and 6th century is another event that affected the

next millennium and more of the history of the West and the Church. Knoll notes that

"...almost everything in the church that approached the highest, noblest, and truest ideals

of the gospel was done either by those who had chosen the monastic way or by those who

had been inspired in their Christian life by the monks."[82] Islam arose in the Arabian

Peninsula by the beginning of the 7th century. In the middle of the 11th century, the

Schism between the Eastern Church and the Western Church occurred due to the long

standing conflicts, which were political, theological, and cultural. Toward the end of the

11th century, scholasticism emerged, and the Crusades were initiated. Feudalism had been

the social, economic, and political system of the medieval West for a long time. This

time period, between the fall of the Rome and 11th century or even 13th and after, is often

called the Dark Ages.

Accepting Aristotle's concept of the social and political nature of human beings

and society and rejecting Augustine's idea about the nature of a republic, Aquinas, in his

book *On Kingship*, in the first two chapters of book I, thinks that every society needs

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[82] Mark A. Noll, *Turning Points : Decisive Moments in the History of Christianity*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academie, 2012), 78.

governing power because of the possibility of conflicts among each person's interests and of division following the conflicts.[83] Aquinas continues: the ruler of the government should pursue the common good of the multitude, only then will his or her sovereignty be right and just. The goal of the ruler should only be the welfare and safety of the multitude, not the private good of the ruler.[84] He thinks that a government should be governed by one person. For Aquinas, according to the chapter 3 and 6 of the same book, a monarchy is the ideal way of government; the worst form is tyranny, which is more harmful than oligarchy and democracy.[85] He, however, says that the multitude should not kill or cast out the tyrant ruler, for God the King of all will be the helper both for the multitude and the ruler.[86]

Aquinas basically divides law into two categories: the eternal law of God and the human law. The eternal law is the divine wisdom that directs all actions and movements.[87] Aquinas thinks of humans as beings of reason that can have their own law following the eternal law already given by God to all.[88] The human law, for Aquinas, should have common happiness and common good for its objects. He argues that humans who are under the love of God are to practice just actions toward others, and he believes in universal brotherhood and sisterhood of all mankind.[89] For him, humans are also

[83] Michael Curtis, *Great Political Theories Vol. 1: A Comprehensive Selection of the Crucial Ideas in Political Philosophy from the Greeks to the Enlightenment*, Perennial Modern Classics, vol. 1 (New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2008), 208.
[84] Curtis, *Great Political Theories 1: 208.*
[85] Curtis, *Great Political Theories 1:208-09*
[86] Aquinas, *On Kingship*, 1.6 in *From Irenaeus to Grotius*, ed. O'Donovan and O'Donovan, 334–35.
[87] Curtis, *Great Political Theories,* 1:201.
[88] Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 1a2ae. 90.2-91.2 in *From Irenaeus to Grotius*, ed. O'Donovan and O'Donovan, 342–43.
[89] Paul Gordon Lauren, *The Evolution of International Human Rights: Visions Seen*, Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 13.; Plato in the Republic advocated the existence of universal justice through which people could recognize just or unjust actions in

rational beings capable of participating in the eternal law through reason. The human law

should reflect and participate in the eternal law by recognizing the true human reason and

nature given by God. For Aquinas, this human law can be unjust in two ways: when it is

contrary to the common good and is oppose to the divine good. [90]

Aquinas talks about the three conditions for a just war[91]: First, the ruler who has

proper authority and duty should declare war. Second, the ruler should have a just cause

like a cause against an unjust offence or an unjust sack. Third, as he quotes Augustine,

the ruler must have a right intention, i.e., to achieve peace or to avoid evil. For him, even

the public interest cannot be a just cause or intention. A republic should not overly

practice its power over others. On private property, he thinks that it prevents disputes and

quarrels between individuals and is a more efficient way to get things organized.[92] He

also thinks that the distribution of property is not a matter of natural law, but an

agreement between persons.[93] Aquinas, however, says that, in regard to the world's

resources, one must use them for a common interest and share with others.[94] On the

exchange of goods, Aquinas, after quoting Aristotle's *Politics*, says that a praiseworthy

exchange is for a natural reason like family or government. An exchange for money

different political systems. The Roman Stoic philosophers believed "the law of nature provided the rational principle governing the entire universe that was entirely egalitarian and universal." Cicero also believed that universal justice and law plays the role as the guide for humans to just action and binding all humans without distinction and with the unique dignity of each person. See Lauren, *The Evolution of International Human Rights: Visions Seen, 14.*

[90] Curtis, *Great Political Theories*, 1:206.

[91] Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 2a2ae.23-46 in *From Irenaeus to Grotius*, ed. O'Donovan and O'Donovan, 354–55.

[92] Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 2a2ae.66,2 in *From Irenaeus to Grotius*, ed. O'Donovan and O'Donovan, 358.

[93] Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 2a2ae.66,2 in *From Irenaeus to Grotius*, ed. O'Donovan and O'Donovan, 358.

[94] Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 2a2ae.66,2 in *From Irenaeus to Grotius*, ed. O'Donovan and O'Donovan, 358.

belongs to business persons and is open to criticism.[95] He also believes that if one lends money to others and asks interest, it is not just.[96] Aquinas thinks that lending money is like selling something that does not exist. He understands that money is to exchange ownership, but not to make money.

The two Christian thinkers, Augustine and Aquinas, lived in different historical contexts. Augustine was in the empire, and Aquinas was in the monarchy. Augustine's areas for life, education, and career were Thagaste, Carthage of the Roman Africa, and Rome and Milan for some short years. Aquinas stayed in the kingdom of Sicily, Naples, Monte Casino, and Rome of Italy and Paris of France. Augustine was educated in schools while Aquinas learned at monasteries and universities. Augustine saw the ending history of the empire and defended the Christian faith, and Aquinas watched the crusades and defended the Christian faith. Both thinkers, however, loved God. Both were concerned about the safety, order, and peace of their human kingdoms. Both acknowledged the necessity and limit of the civil laws. Both emphasized the just possession and use of private property and laws and agreement. Both were positive for a just war for a just intention. Both justified slavery. Both praised the divine sovereignty of God. Augustine emphasized faith more than Aquinas in his understanding of politics, while Aquinas did not seriously distinguish reason from faith. Augustine stressed the sinful nature of the human government. Aquinas, in contrast, understood it as a natural phenomenon.

As Christians and theologians, Augustine and Aquinas used previous thinkers' ideas to justify their political, philosophical, and theological arguments; Augustine owes

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[95] Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 2a2ae.77,4 in *From Irenaeus to Grotius*, ed. O'Donovan and O'Donovan, 358.360.

[96] Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 2a2ae78,1 in *From Irenaeus to Grotius*, ed. O'Donovan and O'Donovan, 361.

primarily to the Platonists and Aquinas to Aristotle. The two saints showed, even though they are not the first ones, that how Christian ideas can be interpreted in the practical and theoretical political field. As Jesus and Paul were asked to answer to some political questions by their contemporaries, they were asked to interpret the gospel as the true law of justice and love to their contemporaries. They did not say that the matters of faith are not the matters of politics. They combined the spiritual teachings of the church with the political thoughts of the past and the present and suggested a new political frame to their people, for it was inevitable and required by their generations.

Political Themes in Dante and Marsilius of Padua

In the early 13th century, an important document that described the rights of the English people was written by English barons and signed by King John. The document is the Magna Carta, or the Great Charter. In the late 12th century, King John was losing his political power and popularity because of high taxes, forced wars, conflicts with the Pope Innocent III, and so on. The barons rebelled against the King and forced him to agree with their Charter. Later the Pope declared it null, but this was not accepted by the barons. The charter protected the freedom and interests of the Church, the feudal aristocracy, the merchants, and the Jews. It acknowledged commoners.[97] Some of the details of the Charter are like the following: *habeas corpus*, prohibition of torture, trial by jury, the rule of law, legal rights of women who lost a spouse, the freedom of travel for merchants, fair economic activity for the Jews, the protection of private property from the

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[97] Peter Linebaugh, *Magna Carta Manifesto: Liberties and Commons for All* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 28.

tyranny, the protection of the nature, especially forests, and so on.[98] In the chapter 40, it is

stated that "To no one will we sell, to no one will we refuse or delay right or justice."[99]

Dante was born in 1265 in Florence, Italy. Marsilius was born between 1275 and

1280 in Padua or Padova, Italy. Dante stayed in Verona from 1312 to 1318 and visited

again in 1320. Marsilius lived in Verona in 1319. They were hired by the same patron,

the Ghibelline leader Cangrande della Scala, as a distinguished lecturer.[100] Both were

political refugees relating to the power battles between the papal power of Rome and the

Imperial power, the Holy Roman Empire. Dante was a White Guelf, or Guelph, who

stood on the Pope's side, but desired freedom from the Pope in the political and

administrative matters of Florence. He was banished from Florence by the Black Guelfs

who earned the support of Pope Boniface VIII.[101] Marsilius's home town was a Guelf

city, but he became an ardent supporter of the Ghibelline party, the supporters of the

secular power.[102] Both Dante and Marsilius were thinkers, politicians, and Christians in

the midst of the battle between the popes and the emperors.

Dante, like Aquinas, thinks in *On Monarchy* that human society needs a single

ruling power. He writes that "the entire human race is ordered to one thing…there has to

be a single regulating or ruling power, and this is what we mean by monarch or

emperor…for the well-being of the world there must be a monarchy or empire."[103] For

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[98] Linebaugh, *Magna Carta Manifesto*, 28–32.

[99] Linebaugh, *Magna Carta Manifesto*, 29.

[100] Gregory B. Stone, *Dante's Pluralism and the Islamic Philosophy of Religion*, 1st ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 13; Gerson Moreno-Riaño and Cary J Nederman, *A Companion to Marsilius of Padua* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 18.

[101] O'Donovan and O'Donovan, *From Irenaeus to Grotius*, 413.

[102] Moreno-Riaño and Nederman, *Companion to Marsilius of Padua*, 19.

[103] Dante, *On Monarchy*, in Ralph Lerner and Muhsin Mahdi, eds., *Medieval Political Philosophy : A Sourcebook* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), 424.

Dante, humans must be united to resemble the good and perfect God, for God is one. Being one is a virtue for the human race because it is a human likeness to God.[104] This united humanity even means the world.[105] Justice can be strongest when it is practiced by one strong monarch, and freedom, the greatest gift of God, is a condition in which the human race can be at its best.[106] A monarch, for Dante, is the servant of all people. The monarch must do his or her best to learn science to earn judgment and to get rid of greed in order to rule justly.[107] The ruling power is not the monarch's private power. The monarchy makes the monarch, not vice versa.

The most important political idea, comparing with the previous Christian thinkers above, found in Dante is that the secular sovereignty should be independent from the papal power, or the church's interference. He acknowledges the necessity of both secular and papal authority. The core of Dante's idea is the independence of the secular power from the church.[108] Dante thinks that humans have an end goal for life. The end is two-fold: perishable and imperishable. Humans need divine light for the eternal blessed life. The imperial power, on the other hand, would lead human to "temporal felicity by means of philosophic instruction."[109] Both the papal and the imperial powers came directly from God for two different ends. The monarchy is the best way to rule the public, and the Papal authority is an essential office of the church to lead the people to eternal life.

According to Watt, the crucial difference between Dante and Marsilius is that the latter thinks that the papal authority is not directly given by God, but by the members of

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[104] Dante, *On Monarchy*, 434.
[105] Dante, *On Monarchy*, 431.
[106] Dante, *On Monarchy*, 428–30.
[107] Dante, *On Monarchy*, 431–432.
[108] Curtis, *Great Political Theories*, 1:186–187.
[109] Curtis, *Great Political Theories*, 1:186.

the church.[110] According to Strauss, Marsilius thinks that the claims, especially "the

notion of papal plenitude of power," of the church hierarchy are a political disease.[111] As

Strauss and Koch note, Marsilius thinks that there was a pestilence in the civil regime.[112]

Marsilius did not explicitly name what the disease is. He understands that this disease has

disrupted public order since the Roman Empire. He calls it the after math of the

miraculous effect, which Strauss writes "the Christian revelation" and Koch "the

Incarnation of Christ." In his book *Defensor Pacis*, or *the Defender of the Peace*, he says

that Jesus did not come to rule humanity and excluded himself and all of his followers

from all coercive authority or worldly rule.[113] Marsilius's main argument is that Pope

John XXII does not have any rights or duty to govern the monarchy. Therefore, the Pope

is not the source of any ruling power supported by the public. Although the Pope could

earn the support of the public, the Pope cannot be a ruler. As Jesus excluded himself from

the political affairs, the clergy should exclude themselves from the same temporal

affairs.[114] The Pope is just like other clergy, and all of them should imitate Christ. Pope

as an elected official of the church should do is direct and regulate the other priests,

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[110] J.A. Watt, "Spiritual and Temporal Power," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought.350-1450*, ed. J. H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 417.

[111] Leo Strauss, "Marsilius of Padua" in *History of Political Philosophy*, ed. Leo Strauss and Joseph Cropsey, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 277.

[112] Marsilius of Padua, *Defensor of Pacis*, 1.1.3 in *Medieval Political Philosophy : A Sourcebook*, ed. Ralph Lerner and Muhsin Mahdi (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), 442; BettinaKoch, "Marsilius of Padua on Church and State," in Moreno-Riaño and Nederman, *A Companion to Marsilius of Padua*; 141, 162; Strauss and Cropsey, *History of Political Philosophy*, 277.

[113] Masilius of Padua, *Defensor Pacis*, 2.4.3, in *From Irenaeus to Grotius*, ed. O'Donovan and O'Donovan. 437.

[114] Marsilius of Padua, *Defensor Pacis*, 2.4.1 in *From Irenaeus to Grotius*, ed. O'Donovan and O'Donovan, 437

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deacons, and officials.[115] Marsilius claims that Christ is the only absolute head of the church and the foundation of the faith.[116]

For Marsilius, the fundamental political authority is not the government, but the human legislator.[117] The human legislator is the people, the whole body of the citizens.[118] Marsilius's citizen is "the one who participates in the civil community in the government or the deliberative or judicial function according to his rank."[119] A law needs to be made through the hearing and consent of the whole body of citizens to remove the possibility of conflict and protest.[120] Marsilius, however, excludes children, slaves, aliens, and women from this definition of citizens according to "doctrine of Aristotle in the Politics," although he said "in a different ways."[121]

The Ancient Political Thoughts and After

A major difference between the previous sections of the ancient political thoughts and the present sections in regard to the themes of political thoughts is the roles and the teachings of the Christian church. In the first part, Christianity and the Christian church is not in any sense a political theme of the thinkers. As Marsilius says, Aristotle needs not consider the effect of the miracle. It is not true that the Greek and Roman thinkers do not include God or gods, soul or spirit, and religion or religions in their

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[115] Marsilius of Padua, *Defensor Pacis*, 2.15.6 in *From Irenaeus to Grotius*, ed. O'Donovan and O'Donovan, 448.

[116] Marsilius of Padua, *Defensor Pacis*, 2.22.5 in *From Irenaeus to Grotius* , ed. O'Donovan and O'Donovan, 451.

[117] Strauss, "Marsilius of Padua" in *History of Political Philosophy*, ed. Strauss and Cropsey, 280.

[118] Strauss, "Marsilius of Padua" in *History of Political Philosophy*, ed. Strauss and Cropsey, 280.

[119] Marsilius of Padua, *The Defender of the Peace*, 1.12.4 in *Medieval Political Philosophy*, ed. Lerner and Mahdi, 476.

[120] Marsilius of Padua, *The Defender of the Peace*, 1.12.6 in *Medieval Political Philosophy*, ed. Lerner and Mahdi, 478.

[121] Marsilius of Padua, *The Defender of the Peace*, 1.12.4 in *Medieval Political Philosophy*, ed. Lerner and Mahdi, 476.

political thoughts and understanding of politics. It would be more precise if we say that Christianity, instead of other religions, replaces the religious part of the medieval political thoughts. In Augustine and Aquinas, we see the Christianity-friendly or –Centered political thoughts while reading the anti-papal motives in Dante and Marsilius. Although a Christian spirituality[122] runs in all four thinkers' thoughts, the political realities of each thinker asked for them to have different answers for their audiences like the Christians, citizens, scholars, and politicians of their age.

The significant themes in the political thoughts of the four thinkers are a city, republic, or monarchy, peace, war and conflict, common good, happiness, and interest, justice including economic fairness and the matter of private property, citizenship, ruler or ruling power distinguishing the secular from the spiritual, law and lawmaker, oneness or unity, and the church and the republic. In a nutshell, politics for the four thinkers is concerned with every matter of citizens and Christian except some very private matters of each household. They deal with political issues on a larger social context and in a common field of life, such as the republic or the monarchy and the Christian world. A tendency and characteristic of politics found throughout the previous sections is that the more the issues influence the vested rights, the more the issues are considered political matters. Here the vested rights could mean the whole citizens, the Christian hierarchy, the monarchy, a king or a monarch, the feudal lords, any group of people, or even an individual person like a pope. If an issue has a bigger influential power to more people than other issues, the issue could have more political meanings to more people. If the issue is related to an individual interest and not the vested rights of the society, it remains

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[122] In this remark, spirituality means the willingness of the thinkers with which the thinkers implicitly or explicitly allow a divine providence in an individual and political affair.

a private matter unless the individuals publicize the matter with some influential power. This could be understood as a politicization of an individual matter. Thus, in any political context, there is no fixed political issue that must be dealt or not. In the next chapter, we will see the political themes and thoughts in the politics of the 16th and 18th century. The focus of this part will be the newly emerged political themes and thoughts of the centuries.

Political Themes in the 16th to 18th Century

In this part, we will study political thoughts of Machiavelli, Luther, Calvin, Grotius, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, and Bentham along with some historical events like the American Independence and the French Revolution. After the Medieval era, many clergy, Christians, politicians, and philosophers wrote about the monarchy or the republic and its politics and participated in politics. This study cannot cover all of them. This study, therefore, focuses on the distinctive political themes of each thinker and the noticeable change of the themes of politics.

Political Themes in Machiavelli

Machiavelli is a 15th and 16th century politician. Among his famous writings are *the Prince* and *the Discourses*. The biggest difference between Machiavelli and the thinkers we explored so far is that he removes theological elements from politics.[123] He does not deny the necessity of religions in political affairs and accepts religions as an indispensable element in republics.[124] In *the Discourses*, he says that princes and

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[123] Curtis, *Great Political Theories*, 1:216.
[124] Strauss and Cropsey, *History of Political Philosophy*, 315.

republics need to keep their people religious to be well-conducted and –united.[125] In fact,

his enemy of the welfare of the republic is the church that is not purely religious, that is

ideal, and that causes weakness.[126] He tries to understand politics through purely political

criteria. He writes that "Men do not rule states with paternosters in their hands."[127]

For him, the end and purpose is the core value of politics. To achieve political

ends, moral lessons can be ignored and abandoned. Politics should be examined only by

the achievement of the intended goals.[128] Machiavelli, however, does not reject the idea

of virtue in politics. He writes in the Prince that "Still it cannot be called virtue to kill

one's fellow citizens, to betray allies, to be without faith, without pity, without religion;

by these means one can acquire power, but not glory."[129] In the *Prince*, Machiavelli

unfolds his idea on fortune, war, armed force, the qualities of a prince, and so on.

Fortune, or *Fortuna*, in the chapter XXV and XIV, is a woman and something with which

a person takes advantage of for success with his or her virtue and to which a person can

resist.[130] In chapter XIV, he talks about art of war, military knowledge, the importance of

territory for war, and more as the quality of a prince. In the chapter XVII, Machiavelli

says that a prince needs to be feared, but not hated.[131] In *the Discourses*, he argues that

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[125] Curtis, *Great Political Theories*, 1:225.

[126] Curtis, *Great Political Theories*, 1:217.

[127] Extracts from *the Discourses* in Curtis, *Great Political Theories*, 1:216.

[128] Extracts from *the Discourses* in Curtis, *Great Political Theories*, 1:216.

[129] Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans. Peter E. Bondanella (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 31.

[130] Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 86–87, 52.

[131] Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 57–59.

humans should not be trusted and that political conflict could be a beneficial force in society.[132]

Scholars, philosophers, and politicians have used and taken advantage of Machiavelli's writings. Some praise him; others denounce his thoughts. What is meaningful for us in our study of Machiavelli is that we still see the possibility of fortune in one of the coldest concept of politics. This fortune could destroy a society or a prince or build it up. A feared prince is a person who fears this fortune, thus his person needs an armed force. This fortune eventually is not an absolute force that decides the fate of a human society, but at least, or at best, a half-force. This fortune is something through which a person can achieve a goal or not. This fortune is something random and something resistible. Politics maybe needs this fortune or not, for even the wisest politics does not know what is happening and what will happen. An uncertainty exists in any politics. This is probably why we need to talk politics while ceaselessly wishing fortune.

Political Themes in Luther and Calvin

Luther and Calvin are 16th century reformers. They are not political philosophers or politicians. These two great fathers of the Protestant Church understand politics based on their understandings of the Bible. The authority of the bible is restated and emphasized against the papal and the Catholic. The famous doctrine "Justification by Faith" is the core theology for both Luther and Calvin. Righteous persons and good works are not any condition for salvation. On the contrary, faith enables good work and produces righteous person. This is also the grace of God. Humans are not worthy of this

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[132] Niccolò Machiavelli, *Discourses on Livy*, trans. Julia Conaway Bondanella and Peter E. Bondanella (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), xviii.

grace, the love of God. God with grace and love saves totally fallen humans from sin.

Here Calvin stresses predestination, or the double predestination. The five *solae* is widely

accepted as the common spirit of the reformers: only by scripture, only by faith, only by

grace, only through Christ, and glory to God alone. These are not just for the theological

doctrine of the reformers, but these contain resistant spirit against the Catholic Church.

Only by scripture denies the authority of the biblical interpretations of the old church.

Only by faith and grace rejects the traditional religious and spiritual practices of the old

church. Only by Christ and glory to God alone protests the hierarchy of the old church.

All of these could be called a theological treaty to resist the Catholic Church's theology,

tradition, and hierarchy.

In *On Secular Authority*, Luther understands that there are two governments, both

ordained by God: the spiritual and the secular.[133] Each government has its own goal. The

former's goal is to make "true Christians and just persons through the Holy Spirit under

Christ," and the latter "to keep the peace outwardly and be still, like it or no." For Luther

the secular government and law are required for the people who are not true Christians.

The true Christians do not need any secular law. For Luther the true Christians are ideal

citizens who participate in both governments. The goals of the secular government and

law exist for peace and as well preventing wrongdoing.[134]

As he understands that the secular government is ordained by God, the power of

the secular government is also ordained by God. The purpose of the ordained power is

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[133] Martin Luther, *On Secular Authority,* in Martin Luther and Jean Calvin, *Luther and Calvin on Secular Authority,* trans. Harro Höpfl, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 10–11.
[134] Luther, *On Secular Authority,* 11–12.

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only to serve God. If the Christians are the ideal citizens, they are the ideal rulers who can practice the secular power. Luther writes:

> Power is the ordinance of God...the handmaiden of God, its use must be allowed not only to pagans but to all mankind...it is by nature something to be used to serve God...all prince should be good Christians. The Sword and power, as a special service rendered to God, are more suited to Christians than anyone else in the World....For those are God's servants and labourers who punish evil and protect what is good. [135]

For Luther, Christians are all the royal priests as written in the Bible. Luther argues that they are free from secular law and any coercion.[136] No Christian, including priests and bishops, is superior to another. All have the same rights and power. The secular princes need the Christians' consent and permission to impose the secular law. The princes can be born or chosen to rule over others, not to be served, but to serve others. Good government is to follow the law of love and the natural law, "with which all reason is filled, that confer such good judgment."[137]

Calvin has two governments in mind too: spiritual and political.[138] The spiritual government is to form the conscience "to piety and the service of God." The political is concerned with instructing humans in the duties of humanity and civility, food, clothing, and the enactment of laws to regulate human life by the rules of holiness, integrity, and sobriety. The conscience, for Calvin, is the most important element for Christian liberty. Christian liberty means that Christians are free from secular law, any regal obligation, and other external things.[139] Here Christians can be above the law and forget the righteousness of the law by the Christian conscience. Calvin calls Christian liberty a

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[135] Luther, *On Secular Authority*, 18.
[136] Luther, *On Secular Authority*, 33–34.
[137] Martin Luther, *On Secular Authority*, 42.
[138] Jean Calvin, *On Christian Liberty* in Jean Calvin, *John Calvin on God and Political Duty.*, ed. John T. McNeill, 2nd ed. (New York, Liberal Arts Press, 1956), 40–41.
[139] Calvin, *On Christian Liberty*, 27–33.

spiritual thing and considers a good conscience as the inward integrity of heart to God.[140]

He understands that the spiritual reign is "the prelude of the heavenly kingdom."[141]

However, Calvin argues in *On Civil Government* that Christian should obey the

laws and judges and honor the princes.[142] They keep the order of society and peace and

are ordained by God. To deny the legitimacy of the law and authority is to deny "a holy

ordination of God."[143] Calvin sees the law as an essential part of a society. Equity, for

Calvin, alone is the scope, rule, and end of all laws.[144] Christians should pay tax to the

princes for their public works.[145] The princes should not consider the tax as their private

income, but as the public expense. These kinds of obedience, therefore, are basically for

utility.[146] Violence can be used against violence for private peace of mind and the peace

of the nation.[147] In *Letters of Advice 6.1, On Usury*, he allows usury based on equity and

just contract with some exceptions like the case of the poor neighbors.[148] Although we did

not see Luther's view on usury, the two reformers' opinions diverge on this issue.[149]

The two reformers, Luther and Calvin, are different from the two great Saints

Augustine and Aquinas in many aspects. The former elevate the status of the secular

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[140] Calvin, *On Christian Liberty*, 33, 42.

[141] Jean Calvin, *On Civil Government* in Calvin, *John Calvin on God and Political Duty*, 46.

[142] Calvin, *On Civil Government*, 59–63.

[143] Calvin, *On Civil Government*, 68.

[144] Calvin, *On Civil Government*, 65.

[145] Calvin, *On Civil Government*, 61.

[146] Calvin, *Commentaries on Romans*, in Calvin, *John Calvin on God and Political Duty*, 85.

[147] Calvin, *On Civil Government*, 59.

[148] Jean Calvin, *Letters of Advice 6.1 (On Usury)* in O'Donovan and O'Donovan, *From Irenaeus to Grotius*, 682–84.

[149] Lindberg writes that Luther himself condemns usury and exhorts pastors to condemn for its idolatrous and social destructive effect. Carter Lindberg, "Luther's Struggle with Social-Ethical Issues," in Donald K. McKim, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Martin Luther* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 165–78. However, there are controversies on Luther's view on usury. John Singleton introduces this in his article, "'Money Is a Sterile Thing': Martin Luther on the Immorality of Usury Reconsidered," *History of Political Economy* 43, no 4 Duke University Press Journals Online, (December 21, 2011): 683–98, doi:10.1215/00182702-1430283, accessed Aug 28, 2014, http://hope.dukejournals.org/content/43/4/683.refs?sid=4ea17540-fc0b-4007-9237-0dd71e478fee.

government to a similar level as the spiritual government. The concept of divine ordination removes the gap between the two different governments. Christian freedom, in Luther and Calvin, supports the superiority of spiritual Christians over the unspiritual while both reformers claim equality and equity. We should not separate their political thoughts from their reform spirits. As religious reformers, they fought against the Catholic Church; their political thoughts are against the Catholic Church. Luther and Calvin's support for the secular ruling powers is itself their objection to the papal power and the Catholic hierarchy, not to the spiritual reign itself. The reformers hold the Bible as the source for their political arguments just as the popes, the Church, and the princes did. This brought huge change to Western history and harshly separated the maps of the political powers, but in a certain sense, the history of each power group was moving toward the same fate.

Politics for Luther and Calvin are both real life and spiritual matters, as also observed in Plato, Aristotle, Augustine, and Aquinas, even if they are all different stances. This aspect of politics could be called ancient, medieval, ideal, or even undeveloped or unrealistic. From Cicero, Dante, Masilius, and Machiavelli, we view the politics apart from the religious or spiritual matters, on different levels. Some maybe call this realistic, developed, sophisticated, or pre-modern. We do not know which understanding of politics is correct or wrong. What is obvious is that the political thoughts are changing and that there are actions and reactions to the political thoughts on each matter, event, person and group. This does not mean that the political thoughts and structures are moving toward perfection or an ideal state. The thoughts and structures are

just changing for certain purposes. We will see what the next changes are in Hobbes,

Locke, and Rousseau.

Political Themes in Grotius, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, and the Revolutions

From the 16th century on, the ideas of rights had become more serious social,

religious, and political issues. Hugo Grotius, a Dutch jurist and a devout protestant

Armenian of the 16th and 17th century, brought the issues of rights and natural law into

more secular and legal areas. He argued that we do not need God to advocate the validity

of natural law and wrote that "what we have been saying would have a certain degree of

validity even if we should concede that which cannot be conceded without the utmost

wickedness, that there is no God, or that the affairs of men are of no concern to him."[150]

He also argued that natural law existed independently of political powers and authorities

and thus stood above all human-created governments.[151] He believed that certain rights of

protection and equal treatment without regard to any religious or civil status should be

guaranteed under natural law. He thought there were three channels through which rights

may be known: 1) by a vivid sort of quasi-sensory perception, 2) by a purely intellectual

power akin to logical and mathematical reasoning, and 3) by the consensus of testimony

in varied places and times.[152]

Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau are the thinkers of the social contract. In

Leviathan, Hobbes, a 17th century English philosopher, understands that all humans are

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[150] James Griffin, *On Human Rights* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 10.
[151] Lauren, *Evolution of International Human Rights*, 14.
[152] William A. Edmundson, *An Introduction to Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 19.

equal in the state of nature.[153] Humans are equal in their strength and ability. In that state

of nature, they do not trust each other and become enemies. They fear each other and

want to be secure. The only way to be secure is by force. There is no right and wrong,

justice and injustice, and common power and law; that is, humans are in a state of war

with everyone against everyone.[154] In this miserable state, humans have the right of

nature, which Hobbes considers to be liberty "for the preservation of his own Life."[155] In

the same way, a law of nature, for Hobbes, is a general rule by which humans forbid

themselves to kill others and secure their lives. Therefore, humans have the right to

defend themselves following the law of nature. In this state of the right and law, a person

can hold or renounce his or her right for one's interest. If one renounces one's right, it

primarily means that the person will pursue a common good by laying down, or

transferring, the right to kill others and holding up the duty to protect others' lives.[156] This

must be done based on a voluntary action and the mutual intention. This is the contract

made against fear and for the benefit of life.[157] However, where there is no contract, there

is no injustice and no coercive power erected.[158]

Locke, also a 17th century English philosopher and physician, defined the state of

nature as reciprocal liberty.[159] This means each individual has the right to preserve

themselves. Each individual, however, does not have the right to violate others' rights to

preserve themselves. He argued that each individual in this state of nature has natural

rights "prior to the existence of any organized societies" and believed a function of the

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[153] Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (New York: Dutton, 1950), 101.
[154] Hobbes, *Leviathan,* 105.
[155] Hobbes, *Leviathan,* 106.
[156] Hobbes, *Leviathan,* 108–09.
[157] Hobbes, *Leviathan,* 115.
[158] Hobbes, *Leviathan,* 119.
[159] Edmundson, *Introduction to Rights,* 15.

government was to preserve each individual's rights.[160] Locke thought that this

relationship between people and the government was possible through a contract. The

government was provided with power from the people who signed a contract. If the

government violated natural law and rights or the contract, the people who signed the

contract should resist the tyranny.

The American Declaration of Independence was adopted on July 4th, 1776; the

final version was first written by Thomas Jefferson and edited by the Continental

Congress. Jefferson was greatly influenced by Locke and wrote in the Declaration:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are
> endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life,
> Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness – That to secure these rights, Governments are
> instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, –
> That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the
> Right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its
> foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall
> seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness....[161]

Locke thought that if there were consistent and systematic abuses by the government that

broke natural rights, the people could set up a new government to recover their rights.

People were freed from their duty of obedience to the government if the acts of the

government become tyranny. Jefferson and the early leaders and people under the

sovereignty of King George III perceived their political situations as being abused by

tyranny and practically applied Locke's ideas to their Declaration of Independence

against the English sovereignty. Their political activities reflected their desire to achieve

actual independence of their lives, rights, liberty, and estates.

In the midst the French Revolution, the French National Assembly, in 1789,

issued the Declaration of Rights of Man and of the Citizen. Marquise de Lafayette, a

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[160] Lauren, *Evolution of International Human Rights*, 15.
[161] Edmundson, *Introduction to Rights*, 31.

French aristocrat and general who participated in the American Revolutionary War, was

the primary author. In this document, rights were for the first time described as "human

rights," and understood to be "natural, imprescriptible, and inalienable."[162] The core

points declared humans to be born free and equal in respect of their rights. The goal of

political associations should be to protect and preserve the natural and imprescriptible

rights of humans. The rights are about liberty, property, security, and resistance of

oppression.[163] Rousseau's idea of *The Social Contract* influenced the French Revolution.

Rousseau wrote, in his *Contrat social, ou Principes du Droit Politique*, that people were

born free, but everywhere they are in chains.[164] This remark could be understood through

his idea of civil liberty. He thought that a person could acquire civil liberty by

abandoning their natural liberty and by agreeing with the social contract. He also believed

that private will and interest may not lead people to the common interest. General Will,

for Rousseau, can create a balance between rights and interest and guarantee the common

good. All people are free and equal in General Will. His idea of General Will was used in

the Declaration of Rights of Man and of the Citizen.

Jeremy Bentham, an English philosopher and jurist of the 18th and 19th century,

characterized the idea of natural rights as "mischievous nonsense."[165] He did not think

that the ideas of rights were nonsense, but that the ideas should be understood in a legal

setting. For Bentham, rights were real when they were legal rights. Bentham compared

natural rights to hunger. Natural rights are not real rights until given by law, as hunger is

not bread. Hunger itself never gives bread to hunger. Bread must be made and provided.

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[162] Edmundson, *Introduction to Rights*, 39.
[163] Edmundson, *Introduction to Rights*, 39.
[164] Lauren, *Evolution of International Human Rights*, 15.
[165] Edmundson, *Introduction to Rights*, 51.

The bread, that is rights, must be made by law makers, and the size should also be

determined by the law makers. Thus, Bentham criticized Grotius' three channels of

knowing natural rights, refuting that it delivered any knowledge at all.[166] Rights can only

be understood figuratively if there is no government and no legal system.

In 1791 in the United States of America, another bill of rights was ratified. James

Madison Jr. was the primary writer of the first ten amendments to the constitution. The

Bill included the free exercise of religion, freedom of speech and the press, the right to

assemble, the right of the people to bear and keep arms, various legal rights, and more.

The Bill, however, had not been actually applied to the court and to the life of the people.

Slavery was still practiced by many white citizens. The "peculiar institution" of slavery

was acknowledged and approved in the constitution. In 1836, the House of

Representatives resolved that "slaves do not possess the right of petition secured to the

people of the United States by the constitution."[167] In 1857, in the case of Dred Scott vs.

Sanford, the US Supreme Court declared that black Americans have no rights which

white men were bound to respect. Edmundson wrote that "Black Africans were not

second-class citizens (like women or children); they were not citizens of the United

States at all."[168] Women earned partial rights of property in the middle of the 19th century.

They were not allowed to vote until the early 20th century in the USA. In many aspects of

social and private life, such as employment, public service, education, medical treatment,

religious practices, and more, women had long been discriminated against. In 1865, the

Civil War ended, and the 13th amendment was finally fully ratified. All slaves were

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[166] Edmundson, *Introduction to Rights*, 53.
[167] Edmundson, *Introduction to Rights*, 76.
[168] Edmundson, *Introduction to Rights*, 78.

officially freed. Many different kinds of discrimination, especially against Black people, women, children, other ethnic minorities, homosexuals, religious minorities, people who held different ideologies and different political tendencies, the poor, the disabled, the uneducated, the uncultured, and many others, has been practiced and challenged since the final ratification of the 13th amendment.

Throughout the short history of political thoughts and the study of rights in this section, what we see is that rights have existed in some forms as an emotion, desire, belief, doctrine, idea, theory, political method, social agreement, legal belief, and constitutional spirit of states. Rights were not for all people. The beneficiaries of rights of any kind were always a part of all or some of all. The social and political systems of each age required that people contribute to the systems to earn rights. The people could contribute to the systems with and through economic power, militant power, political power, religious authority, knowledge or intelligence, popularity, physical ability, and so on. No free rights have existed since rights were perceived by humans. The people who wanted rights were asked: What do you have for us? What can you do for us? However, in most systems, it was almost always true that only a few could have power, authority, or knowledge. It was also true that the systems reluctantly allowed the people who did not have any of these to enter into the world of politics and rights. What we call the structure of society excluded people who actually had nothing to lose.

It took a long time for them, and us, to realize that the structure needed reform. The people who first realized this were, ironically, educated people who had less power and less authority than some other educated people who had more power and more authority. The bourgeois of the French Revolution and the leaders of the American

Revolution are good examples of this. Surprisingly, the advocates of their political and social rights did not become the advocates of the rights of all. They earned what they wanted from the have-mores, and then they became the have-mores and acted like the have-mores of the past. They were reluctant to give rights to all, for they believed that they were the people who paid for the rights. What they forgot was the source of their power and authority. The slaves, the women, the children, the laborers, the farmers, the poor, the uneducated, the disabled, and many others contributed to the revolutionary events in many ways. They supported the haves against the have-mores and sacrificed themselves for the transformation of the structure and consciousness. The have-nots really had a few "things," so they sacrificed themselves by giving life, labor, presence, voices, tears, and fight. This was not enough for the new have mores because of the fundamental difference between the new have mores and the have-nots. The fundamental differences were skin color, ethnicity, sex and gender, the degree of education, physical differences or weaknesses, intellectual ability, religion, and so on. All of the differences have long been reasons for oppression and discrimination. The World Wars provided big lessons to the new have mores about how oppression and discrimination can eventually kill all of us.

After 19th Century and the Definitions of Politics

We have studies some political thoughts from the ancient Greek to the 18th century. The political thoughts in the 19th and 20th century are quite different from the past. As we have experienced and still see the effects of the 19th century's political thoughts and conflicts, we could probably roughly summarize in everyday language. The first characteristic of the two centuries is the end of the monarchy. From the middle of the

19th century to the beginning of the 20th century, most countries adopted new sovereign systems. The previous monarchical systems were overthrown or abdicated. Many African, Asian, and American countries achieved independence. The second characteristic of the 19th and 20th century politics is the fall of fascism, nationalism, and totalitarianism. At the end of the monarchies, new ideologies held up the countries in some parts of Europe and Asia. Germany, Italia, and Russia are the three well known countries who adopted one or more of the three ideologies.

The third characteristic is the conflict between the communist and socialist and anticommunist and anti-socialist. The key words in the formers are class, materialism, common ownership, complete social, including economic, equality, and revolution; and in the latter are private property, free market, capitalism, and social and economic stability, and development. However, these key words do not belong to only one ideological group. The fourth characteristic is that the free market economy and democracy became the most popular economic and political system during the mid-20th century. After the end of the World War II, many countries that were not democratic or free market formed democratic governments and free markets. There are various types of democratic political systems and free market systems. Each country has a distinctive political system and economic system.

The fifth characteristic is that global organizations emerged and the Declaration of Universal Human Rights was adopted. During and after the First World War, political globalization was clearly exposed in world politics. After the First World War, the League of Nations was founded. Other international organizations and gatherings like ILO, IHO, Geneva Conventions, and Hague Conferences were created or developed into

more international organizations and gatherings. After the Second World War, global

organizations like the UN, the IMF, the World Bank, and the IBRD were founded. These

organizations became the main global political and economic bodies that directed the

acceleration of globalization.

The United Nations (UN) was founded in 1945, at the end of the World War II. In

1948, the UN General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

(UDHR) that was "the result of the experience of the Second World War."[169] The drafting

committee of the UDHR included the chairperson Eleanor Roosevelt of the USA, the

vice-chair Peng-chun Chang of China, the Rappoteur Charles Habib Malik of Lebanon,

William Hodgson of Australia, Hernán Santa Cruz of Chile, René Cassin of France,

Alexander E. Bogomolov of the USSR, Charles Dukes of the UK, and John Peter

Humphrey of Canada. It took about 2 years for the UDHR to be discussed and adopted by

the economic and social council in 1946 during the 3rd session of the General Assembly.

48 member countries of the General Assembly favored the UDHR while 8 abstained from

the vote.[170]

We could not examine all the political thoughts and events over the history of

humankind. This study picked up only few thinkers, politicians, and events to see some

major changes in political thoughts. Accepting this limit, we need to see some definitions

of politics. While scholars in political history, philosophy, theory, and science, regard the

whole history of politics and political thought, providing succinct, but accurate and

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[169] United Nations, "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights," accessed September 1, 2014, http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/history.shtml.
[170] United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld Library, "Creating the UDHR," accessed September 1, 2014, http://www.un.org/Depts/dhl/udhr/meetings_1948_3rd_ga_plenary.shtml.

insightful definitions of politics is necessary. With the definitions of politics, we will try to glimpse another aspect of politics.

Politics in our modern perspectives are concerned with everything. As Aristotle said, humans are political beings, and politics are a way of managing individual and social lives. From the lives, thoughts, and feelings of humans to the lives of animals and the earth, everything is the interest of human political activity. Politics want to manage these matters based on public opinions and interest, the politically privileged people's interests, the socially privileged group's interests, laws, with compromise and consensus among various interest groups, and with legal authority, social support or dominant power, and national and international power and relations. Therefore, scholars in political science, philosophy, and other fields define politics in a variety of ways.

Haywood defined politics as the art of government, as public affairs, as compromise and consensus, and as power and the distribution of resources. Lasswell defined politics as "who gets what, when, how."[171] Goodin defined politics as "the constrained use of social power"[172] and "a matter of pursuing your purposes as best you can, in the context of other purposeful agents doing the same, and with whom, through whom, or around whom you must work to accomplish your goals."[173] Danziger summarized it as the following: "politics is the process through which power and influence are used in the promotion of certain values and interest."[174] Sobrino understood

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[171] Robert E. Goodin, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Political Science* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 30–31.

[172] Goodin, *The Oxford Handbook of Political Science*, 31.

[173] Goodin, *The Oxford Handbook of Political Science*, 32.

[174] James N. Danziger, *Understanding the Political World: A Comparative Introduction to Political Science*, 10th ed. (Boston, Longman, 2011), 5.

that politics are about the use of power.[175] These definitions are all correct and meaningful.

In all definitions of politics, there is some type of power. Therefore, we can say that politics is a use of power. Specifically speaking, politics in the modern perspectives is about legalized coercive power, that is, physical violence and written law. Without legal justification and political consent, we no more see an activity of sovereignty as a political activity, but a dictatorial or tyrant way of ruling. Politics in the modern sense is a concept already understood along with liberty, rights, democratic system, and public welfare. We, however, still use the term politics to describe the state of a country under a dictatorial regime. This does not mean that we consider a mere ruling activity to be a political activity. We only use this to highlight a bad political situation of a group of people. In a strict sense, a political regime should have an independent judicial system and at least one public participation method, direct or indirect.

However, different understandings of politics are possible from the public's perspectives. In general, the public is not the political elites and leaders. The general public is the object of politics, and the passive subject of politics. The public are not inspired by this kind of definition: politics is the use of power for private and public interest and benefit. Rather, it is, for them, a waiting, obedience or protest, fear, choice between either-or, voting, law making, a theme of debate or gossip, my side or the other, everyday news articles, emotion, image, uncertainty, and even fortune that decides their life, fate, and ways of living. For the public, politics is not a use of power, but the use of

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[175] Jon Sobrino, *Spirituality of Liberation: Toward Political Holiness* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1988), 84.

power by some political bodies that could equate their interest with my interest or not. A political body does not guarantee the actualization of my interest. Politics cannot ignore the majority's opinion. The problem is the relatively high possibility of the exclusion of the minority or the major portion of the public considered the minority. Politics is the politics of the privileged, the majority, the educated, and the wealthy. Thus Politics is, for the public, primarily about who among them gets what, when, and how. If politicians will to share what they get, or the public could get what they want.

The political power is often not constrained power. It is freely used by a person or some groups of elites through a legally endowed authority. There is a limit to their authority, but there is also a limit in limiting that authority. For the public, therefore, politics is a matter of choice and obedience or protest to the candidates of authority. We should not exaggerate the influence of the public opinion and participation. It is only to elect a representative person and to choose either this or that. All other major things will be done by the elites.

Therefore, directly speaking, what is important for the public is the result of a political activity, either painful or not, beneficial or not, threatening or not, violent or not, ecological or not, religious or not, democratic or not, realistic or not, and fair or not. Politics, for the public in our modern democratic and free market contexts, is about the real changes in life, privacy, good or bad emotions and feelings, saving and loaning, education, salary, labor law, traffic law, business laws, stock market, internet, retirement, medical service, tax, housing, food, religious conviction, moral and ethical value, human rights, ecology, trade, and war.

There is another public who is in a threatening political situation or totally excluded from any political activity. They are the ones who belong to a country that has small or weak political, military and economic power, the ones who do not hold any citizenship at all, the ones who are under a merciless dictatorship, the ones who are in or between two or more of the situations described ahead, or the ones who are excluded for any reason from political, military and economic protection and participation. For these people, politics or political relations are an absolute life element that decides their existence. In a well-governed and well-powered country, existence itself is not a major issue. A government knows that where there is life, there is power. This government protects the lives and property of its citizen. It is now considered an essential duty of a government. For the public described above, politics is more about housing, food, clothe, water, violence, war, and human rights or any rights. They see the use of power, and the use of power could a way to salvation or death for them.

The third kind of public is the one which participates in their government or country's politics with relatively higher ratio, a greater sense of duty and rights, civil authority or actual legal power, or deep concern for every member, some, or few and for certain issues or all. They can be found in a politically and economically developed country or in any place where politics exists. This public influences more to the politics of government or parliament and influence with their own decisions directly and immediately. In this group, politics is also a life matter in a different sense. Politics for this group is a part of life. They do not need to highlight a characteristic, duty, and work of politics. What they do every day is politics. They think and behave politically. If they want to change a policy, they participate in a citizens' group or council to affect the other

politicians' decision or their own. There are many other ways through which they can participate in politics. They are a political body. They are the way to involve in political matters. What is important for them is everything. They care about the procedure, the process, and the result of the political activity of a government or of their own.

In all three types of the public, we could see that politics is eventually a matter of life. Whatever highlighted about politics, politics is a matter of life for the public of any kind. This means that humans as a collective being recognizes the need of coercive regulation and of peace in body and mind for their life. As we briefly study the history of political thoughts, the themes of political thought and politics have been changed. For a generation, politics regarded the common good or happiness. In another political context, politics were to achieve a collective goal. For some religious thinkers, it is for a religious ideal or utopia. For some politicians, politics are a matter of power, law, territory, sovereignty, trade, order, and war. Some include the public to politics, but others exclude the public in any significant political matter. Whether the public is excluded or include, the public has been the vast majority that constitutes the power of politics.

In this sense and as we have read above, politics is still the use of power. However, in a more realistic and actual life context, the life and existence matters should be highlighted in understanding politics. Nowadays some say that politics is the work of a government or a government related work. This is true in that the governments actually work for every matter of their citizens and countries. All matters, except some highly private matters, are the objects of the political activity of the governments. Even some highly private matters could become a political matter when it becomes a bigger issue in a society or a country. Hence, in every concept of politics, as we have highlighted some

elements like power, conflict and consensus, the work of government, law, value, interest, and goal, we need to highlight that our life, existence, life matters, and ways of living all together are affected by that legalized coercive power and its use of power. What is obvious is not that the use of power provides the common good or happiness, but the use of power affects our body and mind, that is, our lives.

This reflection itself does not satisfy the goal of this study although the reflection could read as more friendly to us. A reason for this is that we need to find historical political dimensions for spirituality and the four popular spiritual practices. We also aim to discuss the meanings of the political influences, whether explicit or implicit. For this purpose, this study will list five political categories that the writer thinks are explicitly political and will state the relationship between the political themes in the five categories and Christian spirituality.

Conclusion: Political Dimensions of Spirituality

For this study, I will state the characteristics of the politics I want to show in spirituality based on our study in this chapter along with the definitions and reflection above. This is an important preliminary step for understanding the political dimensions of spiritual practices. For this step, the term spirituality includes all aspects of spiritual life, thought, and practices. Some political dimensions are directly found in spirituality; others form in interrelationships between religion, society, and politics.

The political themes we have studied include city, citizen or public, republic or government, happiness or well-being, law or legitimacy, justice or virtue, property or economy, military or security, conflict of power and interest, freedom, rights, and

ideology. The political themes can be roughly put into 5 different categories using the study above: 1) Ideology and Ideal: City, Citizen, Citizenship, and Ends and Means; 2) Government: Policy, Law, and Legitimacy, or Orthodoxy; 3) Economy: Labor, Property, Distribution, and Resource; 4) Territory: Location, Conflict and Warfare; and 5) Public Support, Freedom, and Rights. These political themed categories are interconnected. Ideology affects the formation of government, economy, and territory. Different governments would promote different ideologies. Territorial traits can influence government policy, law and economy. Earning or losing public support could bring changes to ideology, government type, or economic system. Politics are a set of ideas and actions that are organically interconnected.

These rough categories do not present all aspects of politics and political themes. What we miss here are ruler or governor, governmental organization, representative institutions, political parties, international relations, intelligence, trade, election and vote, border and immigration, and many other political themes. Politics are complex, sophisticated, and systematic human and organizational activities. No study can deal with all aspects and themes of politics. There are many different definitions of politics. Each political culture and body understands politics in a different way. Thus, our understanding of politics should be based on our study performed in the previous sections for the aim of this study. As Christian spirituality has been formed over thousands of years, politics as a lens to see Christian spirituality and practices should encompass a broad range of the history of politics. This is why we studied political thoughts and themes from the ancient times to the contemporary eras. This study will use these 5 categories as the lens to see the relationship between politics, spirituality, and spiritual

practices. As the writer of this dissertation, I think that Christian spirituality and spiritual

practices can be examined within these political themes and that these politically themed

categories are more relevant than other themes to study the political dimensions of

Christian spirituality and spiritual practices.

The themes and categories of our study should be called preliminary because we

have not yet studied spiritual communities, their spiritual traditions, and practices. Our

study of spiritual communities, traditions, and practices should give us a chance to

scrutinize the political dimensions of Christian spirituality and the four popular spiritual

practices. Before we go on, I want to briefly explain why I think that each category

contains relevant political themes for the study of politics and spiritual practices.

First, spirituality provides ideology and ideals for the spiritual city and citizens;

spiritual practices are the means to the ideological end. As we have studied political

themes with philosophers, politicians, Christian thinkers, and historical events, city or

society and citizens or the public are the basic constitutive pieces of politics. Once there

are citizens and city, politics try to provide ideology and ideals for its objects, citizens, to

provide security and life for the present and the future. A spiritual community has a set of

ideas just like ideology. We will discuss some concepts of ideologies in a section of the

following chapter. The community understands the world and spiritual and political

events through its own perspective. With its set of ideas, the community provides a

spiritual and political model for its members' future. For example, the Pachomian

federation, one of the earliest monastic groups, had an ideology that was quite different

from the Roman Empire. The federation's laws, economy, ideal city and citizen, and

overall spiritual and social system were built through the new ideological attempts of

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Pachomius and his followers. Each spiritual community or society created different ideologies for their spiritual goals and collective life. The ideology of Athanasius differed from that of Benedict. Their ideas shaped their societies.

Spiritual practices are the means to the ideological ends. The ideological end of the spiritual society is in the Kingdom of God. As we have seen in Augustine, Aquinas, Calvin, and Luther, this kingdom could mean the Kingdom of God on earth, in heaven, or in between. In this kingdom, the will and justice of God should be actualized and completed. Spiritual societies try to achieve this end through their spiritual lives and practices. Through spiritual practices, citizens of this kingdom become better citizens that their society requires. The citizens understand God, God's economy, and God's Kingdom better through spiritual practices. Spiritual practices transform the citizens into new beings. Ideologies of spiritual societies can be radically accepted by the spiritual citizens through these practices. This ideological transformation of spiritual people could be stronger than any other political people of any political society. Secular ideologies also affect spiritual communities. The ideological conflicts and crisis of the modern and post-modern world brought a revival of contemplative spiritual traditions and practices. Democratic and pluralistic understandings of the world and world order changed individual and communal understandings and practices of spirituality.

Second, spirituality is concerned with the art of government, policy, law, and legitimacy. Politically speaking, from a modern perspective, government is a way to govern a state or group of people. A democratic government is a way of government that seeks the people's opinions and the dominion of people. A totalitarian way of government generally focuses more on group interest than individual interest. In

spirituality, we find some ways of government. We see totalitarian, communist, democratic, central, as well as other ways of government in spirituality. For example, some spiritual communities, such as monasteries in desert areas or near cities, were largely totalitarian and communist. In a strict sense, we cannot say that the monasteries were ideologically totalitarian or communist as we understand today. What this study will say is that spiritual communities like monasteries pursued common ownership as the means of production and controlled the distribution of property and resource. As Agamben pointed out, there could be a spiritual group like the Franciscans who renounce the ownership of any property and earn rights to use.[176]

The fact that they chose a way of government is an important political matter because the types of government affect the spiritual societies' policy, law, and legitimacy. Spiritual societies could choose various types of government, but they did not. A reason for the monastic movements to have a so called big government was to control citizens' life, thoughts, and actions. For this goal, a spiritual society needed proper policy and a legal system. Also, this governmental system included policy and legal systems to protect the legitimacy of the government, the reason for the spiritual government.

Spiritual practices and experiences justify the government style, policies, laws, and legitimacy. If a spiritual government has strict policies and laws and cannot lead its citizens to a desired spiritual goal and experience, these will be attacked. Spiritual practice and experience remove potential conflict, complaint, protest, and revolution and strengthen citizens' belief in the government, system, policies, laws, and legitimacy.

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[176] Giorgio Agamben, *The Highest Poverty : Monastic Rules and Form-of-Life* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), 123–34.

The government style, policies, laws, and the legitimacy of secular ruling powers affect spiritual communities and their spiritual practices. Spiritual communities under a democratic regime have more freedom in pursuing spiritual goals and practicing spiritual means. Under an atheist communist regime, spiritual practices were strictly limited and even obliterated. A policy of the Roman Empire promoted a spiritual fashion in Christian world, e.g., pilgrimage.

Third, Christian spirituality prefers a certain form of economy. Here economy means an economic system that is a fundamental factor in political analysis. Spirituality basically negates private property or competition for increased private property. Spirituality always emphasizes labor and sharing. The goal of Christian spirituality is not in private property or in winning from competition in any sense. Competition for property has been considered one of the spiritual vices. Spirituality gives more weight to distribution than accumulation. The early churches and the monastic movements did not run a corporation or industry for profit or the accumulation of profit. Various forms of religious taxes sustained the economic life of the Church and the movements.

For aimed spiritual goals and ideologies, spiritual societies created noncompetitive economic systems for their members. Labor was a spiritual means for spiritual goals. Property and resources were shared and owned by all members. Surplus or profit was not a goal of spiritual societies. Freedom from private property and competition was one integral condition for spiritual life. Spiritual practices like Lectio Divina and the Jesus Prayer were born under this economic condition and for this economic system.

The economic system of the secular government affects spiritual societies and practices. Free markets became battle fields for religions and spiritual communities, along with spiritual leaders and practitioners. Technologies have been used as instruments of propaganda. In a sense, Christian spirituality promoted the free-capitalist economic system. From other sides, Christian spirituality resisted the negative effects of the system and provided alternatives.

Fourth, spirituality has a territory and deals with conflicts and warfare. Spirituality's territory does not have a territorial meaning that we can find in politics. Political territory includes sky, sea, and land. It can sometimes include a building or a ship. All political territory has limits. However, spiritual territory contains all spiritual and physical spaces, lands, buildings, or natural places in which Christians feel spiritual or holy. For example, a cathedral in Rome could be spiritual territory for some spiritual people. This means that the cathedral is holier than other cathedrals, religious spaces, or secular places. The cathedral should be maintained as holy for all. Any attempt to diminish the holiness of the cathedral could be seen as an attack. The territory of a spiritual community could have more political importance when it is visited more than others. Spiritual obligation and rights are guaranteed in this spiritual territory.

The basic idea of Christian spiritual territory came from the concept of the Kingdom of God. Unlike the Jewish concept of kingdom, the Christian kingdom in most theologies is a spiritual concept. Christians hold a politically important spiritual territory and a spiritually meaningful political territory. This means that the Kingdom is a territory of God, and the spiritual people require a simple contract, not a real promised land.

Although the King and the Kingdom are invisible, and the contract between God and the sovereign and the believers, Christians are already citizens of the Kingdom.

The desert areas were chosen by many spiritual leaders and people. Sometimes mountains and remote places became spaces for spiritual lives and practices. They did not choose a forum or an agora in the middle of a city. There were spiritual and political reasons for this. Spiritual territory is a place where spirituality and politics coexist. Conflict and warfare, thus, are significant matters to Christian spirituality. Conflict must be handled for the unity of the Church. The battlefield of spirituality is both spiritual and physical. From the ancient Christian churches to modern churches, Christians have fought spiritual battles against devils, evil people, political powers, heresies, spiritually and theologically different people, disasters, real wars, and so on. Christians have considered the physical world and the spiritual world as territories for spiritual battles. Spiritual warfare requires soldiers and martyrs. All citizens of the Kingdom are asked to be one, the other, or both, in some sense. Prayers containing various content and goals are to be practiced by the soldiers. Martyrs were legendary soldiers who inspired the warrior spirit in other soldiers. We will briefly, but thoroughly, examine the political, social, and psychological importance of territory in relation to Constantine's policy and pilgrimage in the chapter 3.

Fifth, public support, freedom, and rights are political themes that have not been told in spirituality. Through our study of politics, we have seen that freedom and rights have been advocated by thinkers who were anti-clerical and papal or who wanted to protect the autonomy of the Church. Now these are essential political themes for contemporary people. And, Christian spirituality is encountering a new political condition

that highlights public opinion, freedom, and rights. Christian spirituality did not have any

public support in its earliest stages. The power and influence of Christian spirituality

drew more people to its system and territory. Then, the support of the public made

spiritual societies powerful political bodies. In Constantine's Empire, Constantine was

the biggest supporter of the Church. Although he is not one of the common public, he is a

good example of how the support of the power can dramatically change the life and shape

of the spiritual community. We will see changes in the Church and the monastic

movements in the following chapters. In a contemporary sense, the support of the public

is an important matter to spiritual traditions or communities. Public support can decide

whether a tradition or community can survive or not.

Freedom and rights have not been seriously reflected in spiritual societies or

practices. Spiritual life meant a life without freedom and rights under strict rules and

collective life styles. Spiritual practitioners gave up their freedoms and rights voluntarily

for spiritual life and happiness. However, they enjoyed real freedom and rights through

spiritual practices and experiences. They tasted union with God, divine knowledge, and

the Kingdom of God through practices and experiences. They were willing to give up

everything for these spiritual treasures. These are also the things that made the early

Christians par excellent martyrs.

Today Christian spirituality is a vocal advocate of freedom and rights. This is a

new tradition born through the violent historical events of humankind during the 20th

century. Christian spiritual means are not practiced by various individuals for various

reasons in various ways. The individual and private dimensions of spiritual practice and

experience are now characteristic of contemporary spirituality and practices. The balance

between the communal and individual spirituality is an important matter for Christian spirituality.

I stated the reasons these 5 categories and various political themes are appropriate for this study. One important piece of spirituality and spiritual practice I want to describe here, besides the political themes in the 5 categories, is that spirituality of longing and recognition of power is itself power. It first means that a divine being can affect human spirituality and physical lives. If a divine being can practice power over humans, it could mean that divine concerns contain every aspect of human living. The concerns should include money, health, housing, water, emotion, psychological condition, happiness, job, family, and so on. "Spirituality is a longing for power" also means that humans expect divine interruption of their spiritual and physical lives. Metz said, "Thinking about God is a review of interests and needs that are directly related to ourselves."[177] Spiritual practices pursue more than "spiritual" matters that have nothing to do with actual lives. As politics are interested in the distribution of resources and property, spirituality wants to handle the same matters. Thus, spirituality has an expectation of power. Friedrich Heiler said that power is a "constituent in the idea of God which gives birth to prayer."[178] Jacques Ellul wrote that "In honest awareness he raises his hands in symbolic testimony to the unshakable power that dwells within his heart. He knows in whom he hopes. He knows in whom he believe."[179] Spirituality is recognition of power.

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[177] Johannes Baptist Metz, *Faith in History and Society: Toward a Practical Fundamental Theology*, trans. J. Matthew Ashley (New York: Seabury Press, 1980), 51.

[178] Friedrich Heiler, *Prayer: A Study in the History and Psychology of Religion* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1997), 54.

[179] Jacques Ellul, *Prayer and Modern Man*, trans. C. Edward Hopkin (New York: Seabury Press, 1970), 4.

Spiritual power or authority is an important element deciding the who, when, what, how, why, and where of spiritual practices. Many spiritual practices have been found, created, developed, encouraged, and practiced by the spiritual elite who have wielded spiritual power or authority. The more they are renowned, the more their spiritual authority could be respected. One's spiritual power, somewhat like political power, depends on one's knowledge, experience, moral high ground, asceticism, and religious and social fame. Also, spiritual power often endows the privileged with social and political power and justification.

Spirituality itself is power. There are spiritually privileged people. There are spiritual groups and societies. Then, spirituality becomes social power, and the spiritually privileged people become a socially privileged group. They use their power according to a rule, and that rule is vulnerable to power. Spirituality is a way to control people and their lives. As a theology, religious doctrine and ideology control a believer's thoughts and life; spirituality as an ideological experience controls one's thoughts, mind, and life. The spirituality of each generation has controlled people's lives through the church. The spirituality formed in the Roman Empire changed thoughts, minds, and lifestyles. The spirituality of the Crusade era affected people's religious and political activities. The spirituality of the Reformation abandoned the spirituality of the past. The spirituality of capitalism and globalization has brought more market principles into the spiritual life.

The 5 politically themed categories understand the nature of spirituality and will be used as a lens to analyze the political dimensions of the four popular spiritual practices. These characteristics are also found in Christianity as a religion. What this

study will show is not the political reality of Christianity as a whole. This study will focus on spirituality and the four practices and the political dimensions of those practices.

Even though the relationship between Christianity and politics has been studied and explained by many scholars, the political dimensions of the four popular practices and their meanings in our contemporary political and spiritual world have not been synthesized, analyzed, or reconstructed. Studies about the history of the practices have been carried out by various scholars, and this history shows how the practices were practiced and developed. It seems obvious that there would be power dynamics between spiritual leaders and followers. Later in medieval monasticism, as many scholars say, the spiritual leaders and rules played enormously important roles in the spiritual lives of followers. This study will not retell the same stories. The development of the four practices will be compared, contrasted, synthesized, and analyzed. Then, this study will find common and specific political meanings in the development of the practices.

CHAPTER 2

Jesus Prayer and Lectio Divina: Birth and Political Dimensions

In this part, we will first explore the theological, social and political backgrounds where two spiritual practices were born. Second, we will read a general history of the Jesus Prayer and Lectio Divina. Then, we will see what political elements are in the history and the contents of the prayer to reflect on the political dimensions of the two practices.

Monasticism, Church, and Empire: Background

The Jesus Prayer is a prayer of the eastern monastic fathers. Lectio Divina has its roots in the western monastic traditions. Both have biblical root in the Christian Bible, but the uses and formulae are creative products of both the eastern and the western monastic fathers and their followers. This fact tells us that we need to explore the initial stages of the monastic movements in the East and the West and the monastic life and thoughts of the monastic fathers and the historical background of Christian monasticism. We will see how the life and thoughts of the fathers affected the formation of the Jesus Prayer and Lectio Divina and what other social or political factors affected the birth and the changes of the prayer.

Scholars think that the Christian monastic movements arose around the 4th century in the Egyptian countryside and deserts or earlier in Palestine or Syria. Even though we do not have an exact number of monastic movements or monasteries, it is generally accepted that there were already hundreds of monasteries around these areas and other areas like the western British coasts by the 5th century. A Greek historian Palladius

estimated that, by the 5th century, a single monastic group, the Pachomian federation, had 3,000 monks who settled around Alexandria and the Nile.[180]

We need to see the roles of Anthony the Great, Pachomius, and Athansius in the beginning of the monastic movements. Anthony the Great Hermit and Pachomius the Great Organizer are two leaders of the monastic movements. Athanasius was a bishop who propagated his monastic life style through his writing on Anthony. Anthony, or the *Life of Anthony* written by Athanasius, is one of the greatest monastic initiators that affected the whole shape of the first generation of the Christian monasticism. Chitty calls Athanasius' book "the first great manifesto of the monastic ideal" because of its great influence on the monastic movement of the 4th century and on.[181] We already saw a good example of this in the conversion of Augustine.

Anthony the Great, the father of monasticism, was born in approximately 251 C.E and died in 356; that is, he was born before Constantine and died after this Christian emperor. He began his solitude around 269 or 270 C.E.[182] Before he withdrew into solitude as a young man, he gave all his possessions to others. We do not have an accurate data for his absolute solitude, but it was probably around the end of the third century. According to Athanasius' writings about Anthony's life, Anthony was followed by disciples, and this was a reason he sought a more strict solitude. He had more and more visitors and decided to share his knowledge and experience. He was begged to be

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[180] John A. McGuckin, "The Eastern Christian Tradition," in *The Story of Christian Spirituality: Two Thousand Years, from East to West,* ed. *Gordon Mursell* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 133.
[181] Derwas J. Chitty, *The Desert a City: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1999), 2.
[182] Philip Sheldrake, *Spirituality: A Brief History* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 41.

their *abba*, and a monastic community was born.[183] This, however, does not mean that his

monastic group was the first monastery or the first monastic gathering in the history of

Christian monasticism. As written in the *Life of Anthony*, Anthony had predecessors and

a sister in a proto-monastic institution. Athanasius wrote that Anthony had a victorious

life defeating the devil. The beginning stage of the Christian monasticism was led by a

once-rich man who fought against the devil.

Pachomius, the founder of the first known mega communitarian monastic

federation by 320 C.E., emphasized obedience and the rule.[184] He asked his disciples to

follow his or her spiritual fathers' or mothers' instructions with unquestioning obedience.

He wrote the first monastic rule, and his rule influenced the rule of Basil and Benedict.

He was a pagan who was conscripted into the Maximin Dia's army between 312 and

313.[185] Maximin Dia, a Roman emperor governing Egypt, West Asia, and Syria, fought

against his rival emperor Licinius and was defeated by the Licinius' army. Maximin

became a defeated persecutor of eastern Christians while Licinius, the victorious emperor

with Constantine, allowed Christians to practice their faith in 313. Later Licinius was

executed by Constantine. In this war, Pachomius, as a member of a soon-to-be defeated

army, was fed and cared by Christians, impressed by their love, and converted to

Christianity praying that he would do the same to others.

Athanasius of Alexandria was born before Constantine's conversion, around 296

C.E., and was ordained a deacon after the conversion of the emperor, around 320 C.E.

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[183] Ross Thompson and Gareth Williams, *SCM Studyguide to Christian Spirituality* (London: SCM Press, 2008), 41.
[184] Sheldrake, *Spirituality*, 44.
[185] Philip Rousseau, *Pachomius : The Making of a Community in Fourth-Century Egypt*, Updated with a new pref. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 58; Chitty, *The Desert a City*, 7.

His argument against Arians was accepted by the bishops, and the Arians were anathematized. Unlike the Arians who believed Jesus to be subordinate to God, Athanasius believed that Jesus had no beginning like God and is the incarnation of God, God's salvific incarnation. Jesus is equal to God. Human kinship with God, for Athansius, can be realized through the incarnation. In this understanding, the condescension of God is the matter, not the ascent of humans, to God.[186] For him, spiritual knowledge did not mean an individual ability or Gnostic gift. He thought everyone in the Church could have immediate access to the realities of the divine presence in the Gospel revelation.[187] Athanasius maintained a good relationship with hermits and monastic communities before and after he became a bishop. He wrote a biography of Anthony the Great, *Life of Anthony*, a bestseller of that time and the biography which affected the spiritual lives of Christians. In the biography, based on his strong dogmatic affirmation of the Nicaean view of Christ, he showed that Christians can overcome temptation and defeat the devil, "who hates and envies what is good,"[188] through Christians' "trust in the reality of the divine incarnation, which is transmitted to them by the church."[189]

Before Anthony, or more precisely before the *Life of Anthony*, there were some Christian groups in the rural areas or in the desert areas around the Syrian countryside

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[186] Andrew Louth, "The Cappadocians," in *Study of Spirituality*, ed. Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright, and Edward Yarnold (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 162.

[187] Charles Kannengiesser, "The Spiritual Message of the Great Fathers," in *Christian Spirituality: Origins to the Twelfth Century*, ed. Bernard McGinn and John Meyendorff (New York: Crossroad, 1985), 63.

[188] Athanasius, "Life of St. Anthony," in *From Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Second Series, Vol. 4. ed. PhilipSchaff and Henry Wace (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1892.), 5. Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight. accessed August 11, 2014, http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/2811.htm.

[189] Kennengiesser, "Spiritual Message of the Great Fathers," in Christian Spirituality, ed. McGinn and Meyendorff, 66.

and the Nile. The groups were Christian ascetic individuals or groups.[190] John the Baptist

might have been a model for those people. In around the 4th century, Anthony became the

model for the hermits, ascetics, and monastic Christians; the Pachomian federation

became the model for the cenobites. We do not have strong evidence that Anthony was

famous or well-known before Athanasius wrote the *Life of Anthony*. It was Athanasius

who made Anthony the model and ideal monastic and ascetic figure in 4th century

Alexandria and Egypt.

In his *Life of Anthony*, we can find at least four of his enemies: the Arians and

their followers, the emperors or the secular authorities, the philosophers or philosophical

Christians, and the Pachomian monastic federation. In the prologue of *the Life*,

Athanasius writes that "You have entered upon a noble rivalry with the monks of Egypt

by your determination either to equal or surpass them in your training in the way of

virtue."[191] In this remark, Athanasius uses words like "a noble rivalry," "equal or

surpass," and "training in the way of virtue." In the following sentence, he mentions the

monasteries among Christians and the public recognition of the monks. These

monasteries should mean the Pachomian federation or similar cenobite monasteries of the

time. And the expressions Athanasius used hints at his awareness of the federation's

status among Christians. As seen above, Pachomius founded his monastery around 320.

This single monastery drew many Christians and became the biggest federation of the

Pachomian monasticism in a short time. The federation was a model for other groups of

ascetics and monastic groups. Thus many monasteries adopted the Pachomian rule and

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[190] John A. McGuckin, "The Early Church Fathers," in *The Story of Christian Spirituality*, ed. Mursell, 57.
      [191] Athanasius, "*Life of St. Anthony.*"

life style to be successful in recruiting Christians and maintaining their societies.[192]

Rousseau in some parts of his book *Pachomius* and Brakke in *Athanasius and Asceticism* note that Athanasius directly and indirectly tried to influence the Pachomian and wanted to have and practice his episcopal authority over the monks in general.[193] Furthermore, Brakke argues in the same book that Athanasius attempted to regulate the life of virgins in Alexandria and implanted his theological and monastic ideal upon lay Christians.

In *the Life of Anthony*, Athanasius' Anthony is portrayed as a victorious person who overcame all the spiritual and material enemies. Anthony is a hermit who achieved his virtue and strength through personal training and asceticism. The life of the Pachomian Federation was a collective and communal life. They shared the teachings of Pachomius and followed the strict rule of their monasteries. They were rigidly united and strongly regulated. They were already a huge political body near the city of Alexandria and the Nile. To Athanasius, they were friends and enemies at the same time as other bishops considered them the same way.[194] Thus Athanasius gave a new ideal example of the monastic life in his time and territory, arguing that the monastic life of the cenobites, the strongly united and regulated body of the monks, should pursue more solitary and individual way of spiritual disciplines and "the citizenship in the heavens." Athanasius writes that Anthony persuaded many to embrace the solitary life. Then the desert a city came into existence.

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[192] McGuckin, "The Eastern Christian Tradition," in *The Story of Christian Spirituality*, ed. Mursell, 133.

[193] Rousseau, *Pachomius*, 161–62, 189–90; David Brakke, *Athanasius and Asceticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 111–29, 138–39.

[194] Brakke, *Athanasius and Asceticism*, 4.

In the brief study of Athanasius' theology above, he believed that Christians can have immediate access to the realities of the divine presence and overcome temptation and defeat the devil through "trust in the reality of the divine incarnation, which is transmitted to them by the church." The monks and the monasteries were for Athanasius the subject of his episcopal authority. Anthony in the *Life* fought against the heresies of the church and said for the unity of the church. He figuratively depicted monks as demons.[195] Anthony performed miracles and healing and argued against Arians. Athanasius projected his theology and monastic, moral, and ascetic ideal in his writings for checks and balances between his theology and authority and the ideals and authority of the Pachomian federation.

Anthony even confuted the philosophers who visited him to test his wisdom. His letter pleased the Roman emperors like Constantine and his son Constantius. After he received the letters of the emperors, he reluctantly answered, persuaded by some feared monks, that "not to think much of the present, but rather to remember the judgment that is coming, and to know that Christ alone was the true and Eternal King."[196] Anthony also asked them to be merciful and to work for justice and the poor. He cast away the devil in a person of rank[197] and a military officer Martinian's daughter.[198] He also generously met Archelaus, the Count, and prayed for Policratia, a nun, and healed her as Archelaus asked. He cursed and foretold wrath on Balacius, an army general who persecuted Christians and supported Arians. Balacius was guarding Nestorius, the Prefect of Egypt,

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[195] Athanasius, "*Life of St. Anthony*," 40.
[196] Athanasius, "*Life of St. Anthony*," 81.
[197] Athanasius, "*Life of St. Anthony*," 64
[198] Athanasius, "*Life of St. Anthony*," 48.

and watched him die after being bitten by one of his well trained horses.[199] These are all

accounts about Athanasius' theology, spirituality, and political thoughts. While picturing

Anthony as an ideal spiritual person, he praises the superiority of his spiritual theological

and spiritual ideal above the secular authorities and power. He wanted to argue that the

secular powers and authorities should obey to the spiritual power with the monastic and

ascetic excellence.

Pachomius and his federation introduce a different ideal communal life with a

strict rule. Rules governed their monastic life. Autonomy of the members was harshly

restricted. They could not have private property or ask any rights for the things and

conducts in the monasteries.[200] They received their role from their superior and performed

everyday routine according to each member's endowed role. For example, there were

carpenters, tailors, metal workers, camel drivers, bakers, shoemakers, copyists, and so

on.[201] The monks even needed permission from their superiors to communicate with other

members in other houses in the same monasteries.[202] Their rules interfered with all

behaviors such as eating, walking, working, talking, sleeping, resting, and praying. Noted

above, Pachomius was a conscripted pagan for Maximin's army. The historical records

indicate that his military career was not a long term service. We do not know how much

of his career and experience influenced the formation of his monastic federation.

However, it is obvious that his monasteries remind us of a typical soldier's life in a

military camp. Some of the Pachomian monasteries occupied old Roman forts offering

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[199] Athanasius, "*Life of St. Anthony*," 86.
[200] Juan María Laboa et al., *The Historical Atlas of Eastern and Western Christian Monasticism* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2003), 66; Rousseau, *Pachomius*, 87–104.
[201] Rousseau, *Pachomius*, 82.
[202] Rousseau, *Pachomius*, 75.

security.[203] As Chitty writes in *the Desert a City*, the general plan of his monasteries could be from his military knowledge and experience.[204]

Unlike Athanasius' Anthony's life was dependent mainly on the charity of Christians or neighbors, they worked hard and sold goods they made like baskets.[205] The superiors made model baskets and the monks copied them. Some copied books for money. The Pachomian federation could be the first "Christian commune"[206] that shared all property, means of production, labor, profit, and source; although, we should be cautious when saying that Pachomius designed this kind of monastic economic system.[207] People who wanted to be a member of the federation needed to make an oath to surrender all secular pleasure and property and to follow the rules and values of the federation.

Athanasius was a political figure. He used virgins as the source of his political authority in and outside the church by suggesting a pattern of secluded life that cohered with church order.[208] His hatred for Arians is well stated explicitly and implicitly in the *Life of Anthony* as in the account of Balacius. He was sent to exile at least five times due to the Arian controversy. The Roman emperors punished him or supported him based on the political situations and theological stances. Christians called Arians also hated him and wanted to harm him. In the history of the early church, unity was an accentuated value among the fathers. Athanasius is a typical model of the advocate for church unity. What different are his historical and political settings. Athanasius, born before

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[203] McGuckin, "The Eastern Christian Tradition," in *The Story of Christian Spirituality*, ed. Mursell, 133.

[204] Chitty, *The Desert a City*, 22.

[205] Rousseau, *Pachomius*, 82–83.

[206] McGuckin, "The Eastern Christian Tradition," in *The Story of Christian Spirituality*, ed. Mursell, 133.

[207] Rousseau, *Pachomius*, 84.

[208] Brakke, *Athanasius and Asceticism*, 17–21.

Constantine's conversion, experienced both persecution and peace through the Empire. He probably recognized the importance of political unity and the stability of the church for her divine reign over the worlds of the secular and the spiritual, or his political program could just be the manifestation of his political desire to the ruling power over his pastoral objects.

The Pachomian federation was successful in creating a huge monastic body through their rule including labor, prayer, and every aspect of private and communal life. What important for this federation was the elimination of autonomy and possibility of instability. By controlling the members' lives and thoughts, they tried to make an ideal society and Christians. Even though their control over members was not as severe as other contemporary ascetic groups, the subtle and complicated rules and systems of life could be understood as an actualization of their political manifesto and ideologies.

We have studied few figures and events. This study cannot show the whole shape of the historical and political background. However, we can understand that the early monastic movement was in this kind of various ecclesiastical and political tensions between the church authorities and the secular authorities, or various other authorities. There was persecution and a sudden peace. Christians were threatened and killed. The political and social environment was not friendly to the early Christians. The burden of taxation was heavy for the tenant farmers. The early Christians had to overly sensitive to the changes of the economic and political systems to survive. It was better to gather than to separate. The early church unexpectedly earned a political power that they had never have before and that they could not control, for they were gradually defining their secular and ecclesiastical political role in and outside the empire.

The 4th century is the outset of the Christian monastic movements. This could first mean that monasticism and monastic spirituality began its long journey under persecution, political conflicts, and the protection of the empire and in the empire. If the initial reasons were the persecution, political turmoil, and the economic difficulties, the primary reasons that led the movements to bigger and more complex social settings should include the Christians' eagerness to achieve spiritual perfection and knowledge and to actualize the Kingdom of God in the midst of life. The 4th century was still the time in which Christians were waiting for the coming of their messiah. The messiah did not come, but the empire converted to Christianity.

The monastic movements are the result of the battle of Christians against the empire and the devil. These movements are primarily the fruit of a few individual's conceptualization, training, planning, practice, and actualization. A person received public attention and had followers. The person suggested a certain rule, moral, and life style, and others followed. When the gathering grew bigger, it needed some controls and leaders with authority given by the founder and their rule. Their societies became more complex and systematic just like the cities. What differed between the cities and the desert cities were the rule, the life style, and the practices. These elements endowed spiritual authority upon the desert citizens. If the border line between the city and the desert city was getting blurred, the desert city reformed itself with seemingly stricter rules and life styles. The desert city knew how powerful spiritual authority was, how important it was to the desert city's existence, and how to maintain the authority in both secular and spiritual ways. In this city in the empire, Christian spirituality and spiritual practices had been invented and developed. The Christian monastic movements are now at the center of

the political world. We will explore the spiritual city and its spiritual practices with an understanding of its background. In the following sections, we will see the history of the Jesus Prayer and Lectio Divina and discuss what political themes and elements are found in our study of the spiritual practices.

Jesus Prayer: Origin and Development

"Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me, a sinner." This short sentence is the Jesus Prayer, or a popular formula of the Jesus Prayer This prayer has been practiced since around the 5th century.[209] The prayer was introduced to Greece. Later, it became one of the most popular prayers in the Eastern Church. The Western Church accepted the prayer much later, but the prayer has never been as popular as in the East.

The history of this prayer is not simple. The root of the Jesus Prayer is found in the New Testament, possibly even the Hebrew Bible. As we see in the Old Testament, the name of God is to be glorified by God's people. This tradition is not only found in the Jewish tradition, but also in other traditions such as Mandaean, Isis, and Astarte.[210] The Christian source for the Jesus Prayer is the New Testament. In the New Testament, Philippians 2: 9-11, Paul wrote:

> Therefore God also highly exalted him and gave him the name that is above every name, so that at the name of Jesus every knee should bend, in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.[211]

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[209] Kallistos Ware, "The Origins of the Jesus Prayer," in *Study of Spirituality*, ed. Jones, Wainwright, and Yarnold, 176; James M. Nelson, *Psychology, Religion, and Spirituality* (New York: Springer, 2009), 440.

[210] Lev Gillet, *The Jesus Prayer*, rev. ed. (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1987), 23.

[211] Phil 2:11, NRSV.

Acts repeats "in the name of Jesus" many times throughout the book. Jesus himself also said in John 16:23 that "if you ask anything of the Father in my name, he will give it to you." These verses are the spiritual and theological foundation of the Jesus Prayer, but they are not the direct origin of the Jesus Prayer.

The Jesus Prayer has its origin in the traditions of the desert fathers around the 4th century. Among the four elements of Jesus-centered spirituality, the last three are found in the spiritual traditions of monastic Egypt.[212] The first element, devotion to the Holy Name "Jesus," is not found in the tradition[213], and the third and the fourth elements are found as distinctive elements. That is, not yet connected to each other. For example, the desert monks prayed "O Lord, make haste to help me." The second element is obviously found in the prayer, and this prayer is appropriate for the discipline of frequent repetition as the third element. Yet, the Holy Name was not yet at the center of the prayer.[214]

It was St. Diadochus, Bishop of Photice in the 5th century who connected the first element, devotion to the holy name, to the fourth element, the imageless and non-discursive prayer[215]. He wrote *One Hundred Texts* in *Philokalia*; chapter 59 and 85:

> ... Let the intellect continually concentrate on these words within its inner shrine with such intensity that it is not turned aside to any mental images. Those who meditate unceasingly upon this glorious and holy name in the depths of their heart can sometimes see the light of their own intellect

> ...when the whole man has turned towards the Lord, it [grace] then reveals to the heart its presence there with a feeling which words cannot express, once again waiting to see which way the soul inclines...then, a man begins to make progress in keeping the commandments and calls ceaselessly upon the Lord Jesus...

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[212] 1. Devotion to the Holy Name 'Jesus', 2. The appeal for divine mercy, 3. The discipline of frequent repetition and, 4. The quest for inner silence or stillness, that is, imageless, non-discursive prayer. See Jones, Wainwright, and Yarnold, *Study of Spirituality*, 176.

[213] According to Gillet, none of early church fathers seriously speculated upon the name of Jesus, but briefly and 'incidentally.' See Gillet, *Jesus Prayer*, p. 28-31

[214] Jones, Wainwright, and Yarnold, *Study of Spirituality*, 177.

[215] Jones, Wainwright, and Yarnold, *Study of Spirituality*, 177–79.

Here we see that he clearly understood the connection among the first, the third and the fourth elements. The second element has been found frequently in many prayers and spiritual traditions, but the other elements in a systematic relationship are found new in Diadochus' writing. This is why Ware calls him "a decisive catalyst" of the Jesus Prayer.[216]

Then where or whom did the formula of the Jesus Prayer originate from? Ware found that the oldest writings that holds the whole formula, "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me," was the *Life of Abba Philemon*, an Egyptian monk from the 6th century.[217] Shorter versions are, of course, found in earlier writings such as the letters of Barsanuphius, the great old man, and John, the prophet, both of Gaza, e.g., "Jesus help me," "Master Jesus, protect me and help my weakness," or "Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me."[218] Philemon's version of the Jesus Prayer is a combination of Barsanuphius and John's prayer and their disciple Dorotheus' version; Dorotheus said the prayer as "Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me," as his teachers did, and "Son of God, help me."[219] The last word of the prayer, a sinner, completes the Jesus Prayer. In the Gospel of Luke, chapter 18, a tax collector said, in the parable of the Pharisee and the tax collector, "God, have mercy on me, a sinner." Then, Jesus said the humble person was justified before God.

Three saints of Mt. Sinai, St. John Climacus, St. Hesychius, and Climacus' disciple Philotheus, implanted the prayer and highlighted the importance of the Jesus

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[216] Jones, Wainwright, and Yarnold, *Study of Spirituality*, 178.

[217] Gillet, *Jesus Prayer*, 38; Jones, Wainwright, and Yarnold, *Study of Spirituality*, 180.

[218] Gillet, *The Jesus Prayer*, 37–38; Jones, Wainwright, and Yarnold, *Study of Spirituality*, 179–80; Christopher D. L Johnson, *The Globalization of Hesychasm and the Jesus Prayer: Contesting Contemplation* (London: Continuum, 2010), 34.

[219] Jones, Wainwright, and Yarnold, *Study of Spirituality*, 180.

Prayer through the 7th to 10th centuries in Eastern Christianity.[220] Climacus said to "Pray in all simplicity." He believed that the prayer was a weapon against demons. Hesychius emphasized the importance of ceaseless invocation of the Holy name and the thoughtless and imageless prayer for the heart's stillness. Philothus saw the Jesus Prayer "as a means of 'gathering together' the fragmented self." All three Sanaite saints recognized and stressed the use of breathing when saying the Jesus Prayer.

The Jesus Prayer has been practiced in various ways. The most emphasized principle is the continual practice of the prayer. One could repeat "Jesus" for an entire day in his/her home, work place, or elsewhere. "Jesus, have mercy on me" or other shorter or longer versions of the Jesus Prayer can be practiced by individuals or groups. The practitoners may want to repeat it a certain amount of times, like 500 times, 1000 times, or even 6000 times a day, using a prayer rosary or rope to count. Breathing can be used for a more rhythmic prayer to reach a desired experience. Ware wrote: "...every Christian can attain to the summits of the Jesus Prayer with no other 'technique' except that of love and obedience."[221]

A significant part of the practice of the Jesus Prayer is to "pray without ceasing" as Paul advised in 1 Thessalonians chapter 5. [222] Monks and lay Christians of the Eastern churches have practiced the Jesus Prayer from its origin to the present day in order to pray without ceasing. They have used some fixed formulae for communal purposes in their services or devotions. The Jesus Prayer has also been practiced, as one likes, without any fixed form or posture. If one can call, in one's mind or voice, Jesus, in any

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[220] See Jones, Wainwright, and Yarnold, *Study of Spirituality,* 181–83.
[221] Gillet, *Jesus Prayer,* 74.
[222] Gillet, *Jesus Prayer,* 81.

place and in any form, that is the time and place for the Jesus Prayer. The prayer is in

truth a practical prayer. The Jesus Prayer, as shown in the name, is about the name of

Jesus, the Son of God, and it is a prayer for a prayerful life, that is, a prayer for continual

spiritual life.

The ultimate aim of the Jesus Prayer is to encounter the total presence of Jesus[223]

and to attend to the presence of God.[224] The Jesus Prayer is a simple, repetitive prayer. It

streamlines our spiritual lives. This simplification process leads us to a way through

which to encounter Jesus' presence and rest in the presence of God. Jesus, the name of

the son of God, is to be called by everyone who wishes to call it. We do not even need to

add other phrases such as "Son of God" or "a sinner." Calling for Jesus is enough to be a

prayer if we have Jesus and his spirit in us.

Lectio Divina: Origin and Development

Reading a sacred text is a universal practice of religious people. The forms and

procedures of each tradition are found to be different, and the goals and the reasons for

the practice of each vary from history, theology, and spirituality. Reading the sacred or a

sacred reading in many religious or spiritual traditions still shares something common:

their pursuit of solidarity or union.

A definite origin of *Lectio Divina* is not traceable. Although the desert fathers and

early Christians obviously did read, hear, and recite the Bible for ritual and spiritual

reasons, it is hard to say that their practice was the same as *Lectio Divina*, acting as a

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[223] Gillet, *The Jesus Prayer*, 106.
[224] Patricia D. Brown. *Paths to Prayer: Finding Your Own Way to the Presence of God* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2003), 119 or location 966, Kindle.

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meditative and contemplative practice. However, the leaders of the early Church

obviously had a concept of reading that one could consider to be a root concept. For

example, Augustine emphasized the importance of the reading the Scripture in his

writings. He wrote in *On Christian Doctrine*, chapter 5 and 21 in book IV, that

> It is plain we must set far above these the men who are not so retentive of the words, but
> see with the eyes of the heart into the heart of Scripture. Better than either of these,
> however, is the man who, when he wishes, can repeat the words, and at the same time
> correctly apprehends their meaning... Let us, then, study these various modes of speech
> as they are exemplified in the writings of men who, by reading the Scriptures, have
> attained to the knowledge of divine and saving truth, and have ministered it to the
> Church.[225]

Augustine believed that a certain kind of knowledge can be obtained by reading the

scripture. This reading, by the way, is not only a reading for studying the Bible. If one

can attain knowledge of the divine and the saving truth, this must be a spiritual

experience. If one can see into the heart of the scripture with the eyes of the heart, this is

not simply a technique of reading. He understood the reading of the scripture as a way to

experience divine knowledge.

We do not have enough evidence of the fathers practicing *Lectio Divina* as a

prayer. The Benedictine Order and the practitioners of *Lectio Divina*, however, provided

texts for their use during *Lectio Divina*. Throughout his rule, St. Benedict talked about

when to read or not, the specific hours for reading, the attitude of the practitioners, and so

on. In *the Rule of St. Benedict*, chapter 4, he made a list of the instruments of spiritual art.

The first instrument was to love the Lord God; the 56th instrument was "to listen willingly

to holy reading."[226] In chapter 48, he warned monks not to be idle and have times for

manual labor and devout reading. In addition, he gave a specific time schedule for

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[225] Philip Schaff, ed., *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: First Series, vol. 2: St. Augustine: City of God, Christian Doctrine* (New York: Cosimo, 2007), 576, 590.

[226] St. Benedict . *The Rule of St. Benedict* (Planet Monk Books. 2012), location 311, Kindle edition.

laboring and reading. From Easter to October, monks go out in the morning from the first

to the fourth hour for manual labor. From the fourth to the sixth, monks should read the

scripture. More reading times could be given in the evening. From October to the

beginning of Lent, monks read first before labor until the second hour. During Lent, they

read until the third hour. If one did not attend the reading, he could be punished.

Around the 12th century, *Lectio Divina* experienced a significant change of form

and procedure. Guigo II, when he was at labor one day, reached the conclusion that

God's servants needed four spiritual works: reading, meditation, prayer, and

contemplation.[227] He explained each step:

> Reading, Lesson, is busily looking on Holy Scripture with all one's will and wit.
> Meditation is a studious in searching with the mind to know what was before concealed
> through desiring proper skill. Prayer is a devout desiring of the heart to get what is good
> and avoid what is evil. Contemplation is the lifting up of the heart to God tasting
> somewhat of the heavenly sweetness and savor.

Each step was not a new spiritual practice within Christian spiritual traditions or in

monastic lives. *Lectio, meditatio, oratio* (prayer), and *contemplatio* each had meaning

and usage. What Guigo II did was, in his writing, introduce a path way from reading to

contemplation. One can say this was a systematization, or a standardization, unless s/he

insists that this is the only way to practice *Lectio Divina*.

From St. Benedict to Guigo II, to the 16th century, this prayer practice had been

one of the liveliest prayers in Christian churches. It was after the Reformation that the

prayer lost its role for Christians outside of the monasteries.[228] However, that was not the

end. Now more and more Christians are discovering the spiritual heritages of the ancient

prayer.

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[227] Guigo II, *The Ladder of Four Rungs,* accessed July 9, 2014, http://www.umilta.net/ladder.html.
[228] Brown, *Paths to Prayer,* 59.

Lectio (reading) was not an autonomous activity in the practice of *Lectio Divina*, especially in spiritual groups.[229] As we see in *the Rule of Benedict*, reading was an integral part of the monastic life and a rule that the monks needed to follow to stay in his or her monastery. Jerome also observed that Origen and his brethren read the Bible together during meals and before sleep.[230] Reading, or reciting, the Holy Bible has been a duty for religious people in Jewish and Christian traditions. Meditation and prayer (*oratio*) were also often practiced as a duty. As much as these practices were emphasized as rules by the church leaders, or theologians, the rules, as we can assume, were accepted by the monks with less, or even no, reflection on the practices as rules. The practices as rules were not a meant to limit the freedom or rights of the monks. The rules were necessary for the spiritual and the collective life of the monks at that time and place. Ascetic and charitable ways of life were other, maybe universal, rules for the monks of the time.

Political Themes, Elements, and Influence in the Birth of the Two Practices in the Catholic Church

The Birth Place of Two Spiritual Practices

Pray constantly and let the word of Christ dwell in you richly. There are many other liturgical and spiritual practices in the Christian Bible. Among these, the Eucharist and the Lord's Prayer have the most distinctive positions in the early Christian liturgical and spiritual tradition. Praying without ceasing and a sacred reading became integral parts of the Christian spiritual tradition from the 4th or 5th century and on. It could be a

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[229] Brian Stock, *After Augustine: The Meditative Reader and the Text* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 106.

[230] Stock, *After Augustine*, 106.

natural development of the spiritual command of the Christian Bible. This is mainly because the two have direct roots and examples in the Scripture while the other has various possible ways to understand and practice.

When there was not yet Jesus Prayer and Lectio Divina, the early Christians performed the Eucharist and the Lord's Prayer as favored popular practices. They had important theological tasks to unify the different theological perspectives on the church, the Bible, and the Christ than a serious reason to sophisticate and systematize the spiritual practices. Therefore, the concepts for the practices remained raw or uninterpreted. One of the apostolic fathers, Ignatius, a bishop of Antioch and a student of John the Apostle, probably used the name of Jesus as a prayer.[231] It is undoubtedly true that all church fathers would emphasize the importance of the hearing or reading the word of God. St. Cyprian, a second century bishop of Carthage, recommended both constant prayer and reading.[232] He considered both practices as speaking with God and hearing God. Origen is well known for his analysis of reading: literal, moral, and spiritual. [233]

Both the Jesus Prayer and Lectio Divina have origins in the Scripture and the early Christian practices. After the Christian monastic movements arose in the Egyptian, Palestine, Syrian, and other deserts and rural areas, the two practices earned favorable reputations as the most popular practices. There are two main reasons for this that we can assume through the history of the church and the monastic movements. In the following paragraphs, we will discuss the two main reasons and the relationship with the political themes, elements, and influence in Christian spirituality and the two practices.

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[231] Saint Ignatiī, *On the Prayer of Jesus* (Boston: New Seeds, 2006), 44–45.
[232] Raymond Studzinski, *Reading to Live : The Evolving Practice of Lectio Divina* (Trappist, KY: Cistercian Publications, 2009), 27–28.
[233] Jones, Wainwright, and Yarnold, *Study of Spirituality*, 118–19.

The first reason is that Christians needed to have more official spiritual practices as they were just gaining official theology and doctrine. The second reason is that as time went by the monastic Christians wanted to have a prayer that projected their theological and spiritual traditions and goals. In other words, as the theologians and church authorities gave the official teachings to the Christians, another kind of authority, the ascetics and the monks, were asked to provide some official spiritual teachings and practices for the monks who became the biggest part of the Christian population between the clergy and the lay Christians. Just as the church after Constantine had more and more new members, the monasteries experienced a dramatic change in numbers. Their life styles and rule were the two core factors of the monastic movements that kept the movements lively and influential. At the center of the life and rule were the spiritual practices, especially prayers and labor. Both were considered essential for a cenobite life.

As we know that the monks in their first stage did not have a clerical authority to perform the Eucharist, we can assume that they, in their early stages from the 3rd to 4th century, did not have an official monastic prayer except the ones of the church. The prayers found in the Bible, of martyrs, of the fathers, and of the leaders were common prayers for the Christian church as a whole, although some groups had emphasized different prayers for different reasons. The monasteries were not different. The monasteries' rules and life styles received attention and drew many cities. These satisfied the spiritual desire of the contemporary Christians seeking divine knowledge, union, experiences, and life. Anthony, Athanasius, Chrysostom who was also an advocate of the monastic life, and Pachomius' rule were the catalysts for the monastic movements, we can say that their insights enabled them to read the economic and political situations of

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the people and the relationship between these difficult situations and spiritual interests of the public. In the same way, the monastic movements gradually realized the need for official spiritual practices that contain and actualize the goal and the ideal of the movements. Since the monastic life was a prayer-centered life, the need for its own official prayer should easily be observed.

It was not a simple task to accomplish. The leaders needed to suggest a prayer that was constant, biblical, theologically relevant, and politically sanctionable in the church and the empire and that could contain and actualize the goals and ideals of monastic life, in a sense, outside the church and the empire. As we have studied, the theological and political context had been gradually settled with the conversion and the edict of Constantine. The leaders had to provide a theology and spirituality that was appropriate for the new era of peace that replaced the theology and spirituality of the persecution. They needed a theological confirmation of the church authorities and the political context. We need to study the process through which the monastic leaders developed some ideas for the invention and transformation of their spirituality and spiritual practices using some historical figures and landmark events like Constantine, various church and monastic leaders, and the ecumenical councils.

Just before Constantine and the launching of the monastic movements, the church leaders fulfilled the spiritual needs of the public in a different ways with their understanding of the political situation. Martyrdom was an important theological and spiritual theme to the early church. Ignatius, Irenaeus, Origen, and many others were believed to be Christian martyrs. The second and third centuries, as Heyman says, were

the eras of martyrs.[234] The primary persecutor was the Roman Empire. The ways of

persecution varied: stoning, burning, crucifying, forced fights against animals, warriors,

or even each other, poisoning, many types of torture, death from pressure, and many

other ways. The main reason for persecution was the disobedience of Christians and a

refusal to worship of the emperor and the true gods. The *pax deorum*, divine peace, was

an important political and religious matter for the emperors in governing their empire.

For Christians, the death of the body was not something for which they would

fight. Even though their body died, their soul remained and united with God and Jesus.

Origen stressed the martyrdom as much as the ascetic life and believed that the true

disciple of Jesus was one "who is ready to go with him to the cross."[235] Christians saw

martyrs as the *par excellence*. Irenaeus stressed that the spiritual, or true, Christians were

martyrs who confessed the name of Jesus Christ as Lord through death.[236] Clement

discussed martyrdom and compared martyrs to the classical heroes. Flavian asserted that

"We conquer death and are not conquered by it," and Cyprian asked "What is more

glorious by dying to have overcome death itself, which is feared by all?"[237] Like Jesus,

martyrs were heroes who conquered death. Martyrs were understood as excellent

examples of Christian discipleship and holiness. They were the sacrifice to God and the

imitators of Jesus.

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[234] George Heyman, *The Power of Sacrifice: Roman and Christian Discourses in Conflict* (Washington, D.C: Catholic University of America Press, 2007), 162.

[235] John D. Zizioulas, "The Early Christian Community," in *Christian Spirituality*, ed. McGinn and Meyendorff, 39.

[236] Zizioulas, "Early Christian Community," in *Christian Spirituality*, ed. McGinn and Meyendorff, 41.

[237]Carole Straw, "A Very Special Death: Christian Martyrdom in Its Classical Contexts," in Margaret Cormack, ed., *Sacrificing the Self: Perspectives on Martyrdom and Religion ,*ed. Margaret Cormack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 39.

The early church was under severe persecution and was still, theologically and spiritually, pursuing unity, strong episcopacy, perfection of life and spirit, and union with God and Jesus through spiritual knowledge and practice, the Eucharist, and martyrdom. The early church was still young, weak, and marginalized, a group of newly converted religious people. It was considered a dangerous sect to the empire and could only practice limited social, religious, and political influence on the pagans. The spirituality of the church was only for the Christians. The Christians distinguished themselves from the pagans and the pagan world. Their theology was, in a sense, closed and exclusive. Even though the Gnostic teachings were, at least seemingly gradually losing power, there was a strong tendency of dualism between the spiritual and the earthly. It was probably a natural phenomenon for Christians who were educated by the apostles, Paul, the church fathers, and other leaders. While these first leaders tried to embrace the pagans, it was not of the secular world itself, but of their neighbor, enemy, and pagan whom they have to love.

During this period of time, Christian spirituality did not lead Christians to a more universal love for humans and the world as a whole. Their political and religious context did not allow them to find the universal meaning of love. It strongly led them to God and Jesus. It helped the leaders and Christians to gather under the blood of Jesus and the Church. It encouraged them to overcome fear and death and enabled them to be united with God. Christians sacrificed themselves and saved the Church, the body of the Christ. Through this process, Christian spirituality was built on the Holy Scriptures as individual books or groups of books, the sacred writings and teachings of the leaders, the Jewish and

pagan cultures, the Roman political sphere, and the various types of philosophy and theology of time and place.

The spirituality of the early Christian church was formed in its context, just as Jesus' spirituality was formed in his context. The contexts of the world included literally everything from people to culture and ideas. Christian spirituality, at first, may have come vertically down from God above. It was also given and shared through Jesus, horizontally. The spirituality had finally been transformed by the interaction between Christians and the world. However, the early church's spirituality was not the same as Jesus' spirituality. The Church's spirituality fully accepted Jesus' spirituality, but it could not remain, as spirituality, original. Christian spirituality accepted the diverse experiences of the leaders and Christians, even of the world. The leaders put their understanding of God, Jesus, the world, soul, and body into spirituality. The spirituality evolved from one to the other with the influence of these various factors. This does not mean that the spirituality was impure or corrupted. Rather, it means the spirituality extended its territory and developed a capacity for the possibility of the transformation of its subject, the people and the world as a whole.

We do not know the exact reason why Constantine chose Christianity as the empire's religion. Probably, as written by Lactantius, an advisor to Constantine, the emperor's spiritual experience before and after the Battle of the Milvian Bridge against Maxentius influenced the choice.[238] The reason could be purely spiritual as some Christian writers recorded. Two things seem obvious. Constantine was serious about his

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[238] There are two different versions of the Constantine's conversion story. One is Lactantius' and the other Eusebius'.

religion Christianity and used Christianity for his many political goals. He built grand

basilicas across his empire. His basilicas were also built in Jerusalem and Bethlehem and

prompted the fashion of the Christian pilgrimage. His empire represented the

Christendom.

He believed that he was a sort of bishop "ordained by God to look over all those

outside the church"[239] He worked for the unity of the church in terms of politics and

theology through the councils or synods. His policy, which supported Christianity,

bestowed much religious and secular power upon the church leaders. Christianity, for the

first time in its history, obtained political power that exceeded the church's capacity to

control. There were, however, individuals and groups of Christians who did not consent

to Constantine's political policy and religious intervention. Some wanted to actively

participate in Constantine's work for the Christian kingdom on earth; others resisted the

secularization of the church, its spirituality, and members. Some would join the new

monastic movements. Nevertheless, it seems obvious that Christians appreciated the

Christian kingdom of the West in one way or the other until the fall of the empire in 476

C.E.

The monasteries were now in a different political setting. These new groups could

not produce any more martyrs. Although there were still political tensions between

Christians and other political and religious groups, martyrdom soon became glorious and

legendary stories of the past. As O'Laoghaire says, the red martyrdom became the white

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[239] Michael Gaddis, *There Is No Crime for Those Who Have Christ: Religious Violence in the Christian Roman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 42.

martyrdom.[240] Martyrdom was the mark of the *par excellence* among the Christian under

the persecution of the empire. Martyrdom was a real matter of faith and life in the early

church. The church leaders needed to give an answer to the public to overcome the fear in

the horrible political situation. The Christians could not avoid martyrdom because the

empire had *par excellent* power over the church. At that point, the church leaders needed

to give spiritual consolation to the death of the followers of the Christ, theologically and

politically. The leaders did not make up theories of martyrdom. It was at least rooted in

the Christian Bible and the life of the Apostles. The leaders added meanings to make the

theme appropriate for their contemporaries. The eras of the martyr are gone now. This

means that the legendary warriors of Christ who fought against the spiritual demons and

the secular powers disappeared beyond the curtain of Christian history and became

glorious stories for the church and excellent examples for all Christians. This process

would be accelerated by an edict of Constantine that rewarded the martyrs' families with

money and gift and that restored property of the church and the bishops.[241] This spiritual

tradition came to existence through a political context.

The church and the monasteries inherited this spirit of the martyrdom in a

different form. The death and martyrdom was not a matter of life any more, but a matter

of faith. One of the believers' enemies became a powerful friend. The other enemy, the

demon or the evil, had always been called "secular," "worldly," "arrogant," "material,"

"greedy," "self-indulgent," "seductive," "deceptive," "false," "confrontational",

"disobedient," "unjust," and "unspiritual." These were not new enemies. Christians have

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[240] Diarmuid O'Laoghaire, *"Celtic Spirituality,"* in *Study of Spirituality*, ed. Jones, Wainwright, and Yarnold, 221. O'Laoghaire explains that "White martyrdom was daily living of the ascetic life for Christ's sake; red, of course, meant the shedding of blood and death itself for Christ's sake."

[241] David L. Dungan, *Constantine's Bible : Politics and the Making of the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), 102.

always been demanded to win over these enemies. Augustine is a good example, as a prominent Christian theologian in the ear of the first monastic movement and as a monastic theologian who wrote a monastic rule, of this sort of spiritual hostility and fighting spirit against the enemy. As previously mentioned, he depicted the earthly city as unjust, carnal, established by the corrupted human nature, and doomed to be punished. This kind of view continues to Aquinas, Luther, and Calvin. Needless to say, the whole Christian church took the same perspective that this separates the secular from the holy or the spiritual.

The Christian leaders, including bishops, theologians, and the monastic leaders, had the task to make a distinction between the secular and the holy, the orthodox and the heretic, the official or sanctioned and the unofficial or unapproved, and the true and the false. The leaders, especially the clerical leaders, wanted to draw a bold line for these matters primarily to protect the church from false teachings of the heretics. As we observed above, Athanasius fought against the Arians, and Augustine against Pelagians. The theological controversies were quite serious and wild resulting excommunication, exile, or even to the death of a fellow Christians on the other side. The leaders did need to agree on the theological issues that harmed the unity of the church.

Constantine, who used the name and cross of Jesus for his battle against Maxentius, knew that the church now needed a kind of legal system to pacify the angry Christian groups. Thus the first Christian council was held under the political influence of Constantine. As the emperor and the universal bishop, he summoned about 230 bishops

in 325 at Nicene, now a town in Turkey.[242] This first council was composed of the eastern

bishops and a small number of the western bishops.[243] This composition was due to the

location and the controversy of the church of Alexandria in the East. The main characters

in this story are Athanasius the young bishop, under age of 30 at that time, and the

Arians. As we noted above, Athanasius was the winner. His argumentation received more

support from the bishops. In fact, he became a true victor in the battle against the Arians

much later through the second council of Constantinople in 381.[244] Athanasius died

almost 8 years before the second council. After the first council, there were many

Christians and bishops in the East who stood against Athanasius. They could not fight

against the emperor, so Athanasius, the strongest opponent of the Arians, became the

target of their attacks. He was exiled at least three times under the reign of Constantine's

son and successor, Constantius, who supported the Arians and rejected the Nicene

doctrine. During the reign of Constantius, the Arians doctrine replaced the Nicene

doctrine in both the East and the West.

These theological and political events had some theological and political

meanings for both the church and the empire. First, both parties, the church and the state,

gained some degree of stability, unity, and order through the councils and synods,

although it took several decades to settle all the other theological and political problems

in the church and the empire. Second, the church could achieve autonomy in ecclesial

matters from the empire by affirming and conforming to the consubstantiality of the Son.

This meant that the church as the kingdom of the Son was not subordinate to the empire

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[242] Noll, *Turning Points*, 40.

[243] John C. Dwyer, *Church History : Twenty Centuries of Catholic Christianity* (New York: Paulist Press, 1998), 97.

[244] Dwyer, *Church History*, 98–100.

of the emperor as the kingdom of the Father.[245] Third, the church created a formula. With

this formula, the church put itself in a theological box to protect itself and to regulate the

theological issues and controversies. Fourth, the monastic movements could recruit more

Christians due to the effect of the first council.[246] The council was the work of both the

church and the empire. After Constantine converted, he used the bishops and the

Christian elites to govern his empire. From this time on, the church began an unbreakable

relationship with the secular power. The Christians who disliked this dubious relationship

went to the desert cities. Fifth, both the church and the Arians, that is the bishops mostly

from the East at the Nicene, agreed that the emperor was the ruler on the earth ordained

by God.[247]

Sixth, as Jesus' nature was confirmed by the theological and political leaders, the

Christian holy books took a long journey to have official-ecumenical authority.

According to Metzger, the church, both the eastern and the western, gradually completed

the canonization of the New Testament during the first five centuries and more. He states

that "the great debate" was practically over under the influence of Augustine at the three

synods at Hippo and Carthage from 393 to 419 [248] He, however, warns that not all

Christian communities finished the debate by the early 5th century. Seventh, the council

was the first case where the church held an official ecumenical vote for regarding

theological and political issues with the friendly protection and political intervention of

the emperor. Though there were some regional councils, mostly in the East where the

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[245] Noll, *Turning Points*, 53.
[246] Noll, *Turning Points*, 55.
[247] Noll, *Turning Points*, 55.
[248] Bruce Manning Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament : Its Origin, Development, and Significance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 236–38.

most apostolic sees observed upon their apostolic foundations, these were not ecumenical.[249] Constantine was the sole reason for the first ecumenical council. The leaders of the church were summoned by Constantine for theological and political reasons. The way Constantine strengthened the unity of his empire was to strengthen the unity of the church theologically and politically. For this, he invited the leaders and asked them to come to an agreement, that is, a consensus through debating and voting. Eighth, the first non-biblical term, *homoousion*, was officially adopted by the church.[250] The term was adopted to explain the nature of Jesus and to justify the anti-Arian argument. For Athanasius, the term was "a formula without which the church could not live."[251] This term was not invented, but given a new interpretation and meaning through which the term became a doctrinal term. This term was also important to define the relationship of the souls among God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. If the Son is identical to the Father, the union with the soul of the Son can be seen as the union with the Father. If the Holy Spirit is the same God as the Father and the Son, the union with any divine person can be seen as the union with the Trinitarian God. This could make the spiritual life of Christians simple and clear. Christians did not need to be confused between God, Jesus, and the Holy Spirit. Christians now had guidelines for their spiritual lives that corresponded with the orthodox teachings of the church.

After the first ecumenical council, there were more councils held to resolve some continuous or new theological and political controversies of the church and in the empire. In 381, the second ecumenical council of the church at Constantinople was held under the

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[249] Joseph Francis Kelly, *Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church: A History* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2009), 15–16.
[250] Dwyer, *Church History*, 98.
[251] Dwyer, *Church History*, 99.

influence of Theodosius I, who favored the Nicene Creed over the Arians' arguments, and it confirmed the Nicene formula as the orthodox creed and affirmed the full divinity of the Holy Spirit.[252] A number of bishops denounced this formula and left the council. The third canon proclaimed that Constantinople became the new Rome. Since the emperor, Theodosius I, was born in Constantinople and ruled the empire for the whole his reign[253], Constantinople must be the New Rome, the spiritual and political capital of the empire.

Fifty years before the council of Constantinople, there were about 40 monastic houses in and outside the city.[254] Fifty years after the council, the number grew closer to about 150. The monastery of Diou was the first monastery founded in the city.[255] By this time, the total population of the city was estimated at about 100,000 to 200,000, while the number of monks about 10,000 to 15,000. Some monasteries disappeared; some founded under different authority. Christians from noble and wealthy families joined the urban monasteries.[256] Imperial and aristocratic patronage became a source of wealth and power of the monasteries. The monks and nuns tried to be involved in the political public affairs of the city. Many problems emerged in relation with their political involvement and changing monastic system and life. Before the council of Chalcedon in 451, the monks'

[252] Kelly, *Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church*, 29–31.
[253] Fergus Millar, *A Greek Roman Empire: Power and Belief Under Theodosius II, 408-450* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 3.
[254] Peter Hatlie, *The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople, ca. 350-850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 94–95.
[255] Hatlie, *Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople*, 89.
[256] Hatlie, *Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople*, 35.

political involvement reached at the peak. Disputes about the nature of Jesus were one of the reasons that moved the monks to more violent ways of political involvement.[257]

The canons of the council of Chalcedon show some realities of the political involvement of the monks and the turbulent changes in the monastic life.[258] The second canon prohibits simony in the church and the monasteries. The third canon warns about the engagement of clergy and monks in the secular business affairs. The fourth canon forbids the political involvement of the monks and the building of a new monastery or house of prayer without the permission of the bishop of the city. The sixth canon prohibits clerical ordination by the monasteries and considers it null. The following canons included the seventh canon's the prohibition of the monks' public service including military, the eighth's obedience to bishop, the sixteenth's prohibition on marriage, the eighteenth's warning against conspiracy and banding together that breaks both the canon law and the civil law, and the twenty-fourth's prohibition on the alteration of the purpose of the use of the monasteries.

Hatlie calls the canon of the council of Chalcedon "the first concerted effort by bishops and emperors to deal with the newly emerging status of monks in public affairs, not least those of the church"[259] and states three decisive factors for the success or failure of the monks of the fifth century monasteries in the Constantinople, "aristocratic support and protection," "a strategic topographic location," and "a certain amount of fitness in

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[257] Hatlie, *Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople*, 116.

[258] Hatlie, *Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople*, 39; Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, eds., *The Seven Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 10, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1995), 268–86, accessed Sep 15, 2014, http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf214.toc.html#P4958_1022711.

[259] Hatlie, *Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople*, 38.

manipulating public opinion."[260] This analysis is not surprising considering the increase

of the number of the monks and the monasteries from the 3rd century on, along with the

locations they favored and the ideals they pursued. Since Anthony and Pachomius built

the desert city, it was destined to engage in the politics of the church and the empire. One

of the reasons the monastic movements could recruit a vast number people was the

political and economic climate. Even though this reason is not all that explains the new

phenomenon, we could read that there had always been a monastic ethos that was anti-

imperial and anti-ecclesial. It was just a matter of time and space to express the ethos of

their ideals and life style. The new Rome Constantinople provided the right time and

space for the monks to show their hostility to the unrighteous, the unjust, and the

unspiritual world, including neighboring monks in the same area.

Political Themes, Elements, and Influence in the Birth of the Two Practices

As we studied the brief history of the Jesus Prayer and Lectio Divina in the

previous sections, the Jesus Prayer and Lectio Divina experienced changes from the 5th

and 6th century from various historical figures and events. Diadochus of the 5th century

was the one who connected each element of the Jesus Prayer to create a systematic

relationship for an ideal use of the prayer. The complete formula of the Jesus Prayer is

found in the Life and Abba Philemon of the 6th century. From the 7th to 10th century,

Climacus, Hesychus, and Philotheus inherited the tradition and strengthen the

relationship between the prayer and the monks and Christians. In the 14th century,

Gregory of Sinai and Gregory Palamas greatly attributed to spreading the practice and

knowledge of the Prayer. Lectio Divina found its place in the Rule of Benedict. It became

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[260] Hatlie, *Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople*, 79.

a practice of the Benedictine order. Like Diadochus, Guigo II standardized the prayer integrating the four spiritual practices of reading, meditation, prayer, and contemplation.

Going back to the beginning of the monastic movements in the 3rd and the 4th century, there was no serious distinction between constant prayer and sacred reading. However, in 200 years and little more, the two greatest practices represent the tradition of the constant prayer or of the sacred reading. Different church leaders, Christians, monastic leaders argued for each practice. They became the most authoritative practices in the East and West. Now we need to summarize how this happened and what political themes, elements, and influences are found in this process while examining Christian spirituality and the two practices through the study we performed in this and the previous chapter.

Ideal City, Citizen, Ideology, and Ends and Means

As studied in chapter 1, Plato thought that a city came to exist to satisfy each person's need. Plato's philosopher king constructed a political system "to socialize desire so as to turn people around from the pursuit of what they falsely believe to be happiness to the pursuit of true happiness." The philosopher king was Plato's ideal rational ruler in his ideal beautiful, city *Kallipolis*. In this city, justice referred to a harmonious state in which every citizen does what they ought to do. Citizens of the city know their desires and achieve true happiness. Aristotle's city was one that reaches the height of full self-sufficiency and is the final and perfect association. He equated the good life of an individual with the good life of the city. Aristotle believed that the happiest life is a contemplative life. Augustine thought that the human city is established by corrupted

human nature. Thus the human city cannot achieve true justice. The city of God will bring eternal peace and happiness. The citizens of the city will enjoy eternal life.

These are the collection of the ideal cities, citizens, and their lives in the cities that Plato, Aristotle, and Augustine dreamed of, before or immediately after the monastic movements arose. It is not a coincidence that this collection of ideal cities resembles the monastic city, for Athanasius, Pachomius, and other monastic leaders were still under the influence of Greek and Roman philosophical and political thoughts, culture, and education, as observed in other church leaders, theologians, and philosophers. If *The Life of Anthony* of Athanasius, as Chitty stated above, is "the first great manifesto of the monastic ideal," the Pope Gregory I's *Dialogues*, including the life of Benedict, is also, as Lawrence reiterates, the greatest propaganda of the monastic ideal.[261] Then Chrysostom's *Against the Opponents of the Monastic Life* should be a great defense of the monastic ideal. There are plenty of similar examples of writings which promote the same designs for an ideal city of God and the spiritual citizens.

Ideology is the combination of political ideas, a society's ideal future, and the means for political change. Heywood defined ideology with: "An ideology is a more or less coherent set of ideas that provides the basis for organized political action, whether this intended to preserve, modify or overthrow the existing system of power."[262] Ideologies, Heywood explained, provide an account of the existing order through a world view developed by each ideology, an ideal future, and a means for political change based on the analysis of the two. Heywood introduces other meanings of ideology:

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[261] C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism : Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1989), 25.

[262] Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies : An Introduction*, 3rd ed. (Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 2003), 12.

a political belief system, an action oriented set of political ideas, the ideas of the ruling class, the world-view of a particular social class or social group, political ideas that embody or articulate class or social interests, ideas that situate the individual within a social context and generate a sense of collective belonging, an official sanctioned set of ideas used to legitimize a political system or regime, and an abstract and highly systematic set of political ideas.[263]

Politically speaking, the monastic movements provide an account of the existing system of power. As with *the Life of Anthony* and other writings, the movements provide a similar account of existing systems of power and try to preserve, modify, or overthrow the systems, having a belief system, ruling class, worldview, collective interest and sense of belonging, and political system and ideas. The existing system of the monastic movements from 3rd to 5th century could be the system of the secular empire, of the church, and of spiritual enemies. The movements contained a strong belief system, a spiritual elite group and world view, interest, and political ideas, and a strong sense of belonging. The means of monastic ideology was a solitary life of moral excellence, fasting, diet, labor, the sacred reading, and the constant prayer.

The Jesus Prayer and Lectio Divina are very ideal means for the ideal life and goals of the ideal citizens. An ideal monastic life included a life obeying the word of God, pursuing a union with God, obtaining divine knowledge, conquering appetite, and making, tasting, and waiting for the Kingdom of God. For this, one needs to separate oneself from any possible distraction to remain in peace and silence. He or she observes all rules and means to reach a state of peace and silence. Then, one reads the Holy Scripture and prays. The Holy Scripture is the sole means to an ideal life. The name of Jesus is the sole way to an ideal goal.

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[263] Heywood, *Political Ideologies*, 6.

Citizenship in the monastic life is meaningful for women and slaves. They were, according to most great ancient thinkers and politicians, and even theologians, not citizens. In monastic life, any member could have citizenship through the monastic lifestyle and spiritual practices. As their Bible said, there was no discrimination, at least among the same members, about the citizenship of the kingdom of God in monastic life. Though this citizenship did not have any legal meaning, it was a more meaningful sense of belonging than the citizenship of the empire.

Government: Policy and Law

For Plato, one of the meanings of justice was not harming any one and doing what one ought to do. Justice is a harmonious state of a society. Plato believed, on the one hand, that the leaders must be free from law, and on the other hand, that accepting of a good legislation, people are already given religious law. Society can limit private life, freedom, and the autonomy of the citizens for their happiness. Aristotle said that a good life and happiness come from having free and voluntary citizens. This voluntary action means an action done through knowledge about the object of the action without reluctance or coercion. He believed that the constitution is the civic body itself and sovereign in all issues. For Cicero, the law is the highest reason and a force of nature that forbids wrong doing. The gathering of people, the republic, is subject to the supreme law and their official authorities. He emphasized "the divine mind" and moral excellence.

A monastic leader always chose the way to govern the order's members. Pachomius knew the importance of a government style. The monastic leaders inherited the same government spirit. The control of the whole society, so called big government,

is one solid government style of the leaders. A strict rule can bring a stable, peaceful, and silent state of mind and body. One does not expect any tumult or disturbance if everyone follows the same rules. All are safe and satisfied. The monastic law premised the free and voluntary decisions of its followers. It promises an ideal society and an ideal life. Instead, the law regulated literally all aspects of human life in the society. From the sexual life to private conversations, the law determined what its members can or cannot do. As was the case with the Pachomian federation, their rules interfered with all behaviors including eating, walking, working, talking, sleeping, resting, and praying. The rules also provided justification for the punishment of those who break the law.

All these actions are justified by and for society's ideal goals. The spiritual practices of the Jesus Prayer and Lectio Divina have an important function within this justification. The two practices are at the center of each monastic tradition of the east and the west. These two practices are very essential parts of the monastic life. Since the two practices have a central meaning and function for the whole life, other factors are to be subservient to the two main practices. They are superior practices and means for the life. If the law is one integral part of the life, the practices are the other. The two parts coexist for the same goal and justify the government style together as the means and goals of the life. Other spiritual practices like labor, fasting, silence, diet, and prayer play the same role in terms of justification, although any of these practices do not have the same sacred meanings as the Jesus Prayer and Lectio Divina. These spiritual practices suppress or neutralize possible conflict, complaint, and pretest. Not every society and citizen could sacrifice their freedom, pleasure, private life and property like the citizens of the desert city. Only when a government style is justified by spiritual meanings and means, or the

equivalent, can a society and its citizens as a whole not doubt the way of government. Moral corruption is the greatest risk factor for this government until a new strong ideology emerges.

Government: Legitimacy or Orthodoxy

Plato's philosopher-king is the lover of wisdom who "strives for truth of every kind" and "turns people around from the pursuit of what they falsely believe." The citizens would agree to the justice of the city. Again, harmony is a crucial condition for the city, and religious law is a good legislation. Acknowledging common interests, Aristotle's citizens share orthodox virtues like courage, temperance, liberality, friendliness, truthfulness, and justice. Augustine greatly contributed to the canonization of the New Testament, distinguishing the orthodox from those less or not. In the human city of Plato and Aristotle or in the city of God and Augustine, there are friends and enemies and orthodoxy and heresy. The Citizens of both cities are to share one justice, truth, virtue, or the God of God. Those who do not follow are not good citizens, or even the enemy.

The Jesus Prayer and Lectio Divina are two practices of the orthodox monasteries. This means that the monasteries sincerely shared the orthodox teachings of the church and recognized the authority of the selected books. By the 5th century, the Jesus controversies continued, stepping into a new phase for the final victory of the orthodox parties. At the same time, the orthodox parties were defining the orthodox books and soothing the debates about the authority of the books. The Jesus Prayer and Lectio Divina would not be finally invented without the confirmation and affirmation to the nature of

Jesus and the authority of the books. This standardization, or canonization, of the contents of Christian faith sanctioned the birth of the practices and provided justification for the invention of the practices that are not directly found in the books.

The term *homoousion* in this regard points to an important fact about the invention of a new concept and practice. This term is not a biblical term. In a technical sense, this word was not invented. It was a term used by various religious and philosophical groups. Borrowing the term, the orthodox parties put Christian meanings and explanations to the word. This was obviously an unreasonable attempt from a theological and philosophical perspective. There were many, especially in the East, who could not agree with the formula. However, this term and its conceptualization were necessary for the church in the politics of the empire and for the stability of the ecclesial and secular orders. Therefore, this term became a kind of technical legal term that decides who and what the orthodox is, or it not, based on the acceptance of the term. The reason to practice the Jesus Prayer is to call on the name of Jesus the Son of God who is exactly the same as the Father God. Practicing the sacred reading is primarily reading and meditating on the Old Testament and the New 27 books. One should not pray and practice the two spiritual methods without confessing the orthodox faith in Jesus and the Holy Scripture. The two practices are the practices of friends.

Then, it is not strange that the prayers have been used to defeat enemies. The enemies are spiritual enemies like evil thoughts, demons, personal desires, various disruptions, and humans who stand against the Christian empire, the church, and the monastic tradition and authority. The monks were the new heroes, replacing the martyrs,

and their weapons were prayer, fasting, silence, rule, and so on.[264] We have seen ample

examples in *the Life of Anthony*. From the spiritual life depicted in the Bible to the

spiritual traditions of the 5th century, the battle between the soldiers of God and the

soldiers of the Evil One had been one of the main themes of the church and the monastic

movements. However, it would not be true if one said that the two practices were created

to attack others or to catch the defects. We could probably say that the two practices are

means to strengthen the unity of the orthodox groups and reflecting the practitioners'

conviction in the orthodox formula and the authority of the Holy Scripture.

Economy: Labor, Property, Distribution, and Resource

Again, Plato says that everyone knows true desire and happiness through the

philosopher king's reign. Citizens know what they ought to do. He doubts the

effectiveness of the law on taxation. He denies the benefit of private property for a

common life. Aristotle says that a good society is self-sufficing. He advocates private

property for its common use. Cicero vigorously argued that one significant task for the

republic is to protect and increase the citizens' property. Augustine thought laws were

established against the wrongdoing of the wealthy owners.

In the monastic life, there is no private property. All members share means of

production, products, benefits of labor, land, and other sources. This means a

noncompetitive economic life and a complete communal economic life. The only modern

ideology equivalent to this monastic economy is communism, though there is no

distinction of economic or social class in the monastic idea. This noncompetitive and

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[264] Kelly, *Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church*, 33.

communal economic life is for the peace of mind and body. Labor in this society is not for profit, but only for physical and spiritual discipline. Labor does not have any economic value in this life.

However, the members' labor performs a function as tax. Because labor is imposed by law, all members should work for oneself and his or her community. All will work and share. Collective labor in this regard is a fundamental condition for the survival of the community. This society is almost self-sufficing, for the citizens consume the minimal amounts of food and goods for an ideal spiritual life. There is no worry about a big surplus or shortage. No rival company or economic inequality exists. This is a fundamental condition for a spiritual and prayerful life.

The Jesus Prayer and Lectio Divina require a radically peaceful and silent state of mind and body. Most designers of the practices had monasteries in mind as the place for the practices. As Jesus said and showed, the place of practice and the condition of place affects the condition of the mind and body of the practitioners. Jesus sometimes practiced quiet time in a remote place. He spent 40 days in the wilderness. His predecessor, John the Baptist, was a person of the wilderness. Wherever the monasteries took a position, in a desert or in a city, the monasteries needed to resemble the economy of the wilderness visited by Jesus for the spiritual practices. The first leaders of the monastic movements could not ignore this fundamental econo-spiritual principle. Although the practitioners could pray with the Jesus Prayer and practice Lectio Divina anywhere, one could not expect to reach the final stage of the practices with frequent, or even rare, distraction. In other words, labor for an economic competition and an economic competition for one's life are conditions the leaders and designers predisposed the followers to avoid. The Jesus

Prayer and Lectio Divina were invented and developed mainly under this type of economic environment.

Territory: Location, Conflict, and Warfare

Plato and Aristotle have *polis* as their territory. The politics of the citizens' practices influenced this limited territory. They do not consider the expansion of the *polis*. Greece is holy enough with its gods and history. Aristotle prefers a moderate sized city. Cicero has an expansive territory, namely the empire. This empire conquered several nations and kingdoms for economic and military growth and political stability. The politicians and thinkers of the empire justified the use of violence for the sake of greater peace and common good. The empire can take any space for its expansion. All land can become the holy land of the Rome. Augustine distinguished the divine kingdom from the secular kingdom. The secular kingdom is to be punished and temporary, but the kingdom of God is holy and eternal.

The monastic movements took positions in the remote areas of Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and so on. The ascetics and hermits were already there before the movements moved in. The individual practitioners could not have big gathering because of the political conditions they encountered. Any Christian gathering in a remote area would be a reminder of the previous Jewish revolts of the 1st and 2nd century. It was said that eleven out of the twelve disciples of Jesus were killed. Christians saw the deaths of many patristic and apostolic fathers as well as many other Christians. They were probably individuals or small groups hiding their religious identity. It was relatively safer for Christians as individuals or small groups to live in remote areas than in a city. It must

have been easier to be caught when they gathered for the ordination, the Eucharist, the Baptism, and the Lord's Prayer. They gathered together cautiously for special events, liturgies, or rituals. As a sect of a cult or a group of the superstitious, Christians and their gatherings could be considered suspicious.

There were some peaceful periods from time to time, but the political situation was still violent and turbulent for Christians. No one knew when the persecution would start again. The imperial persecutions were one reason, the pervasive hatred for the Christian the other. The spirituality of martyrdom and the citizenship of the kingdom of God had been emphasized.[265] Church leaders exhorted their members to consider the foreign land as the fatherland.[266] It should be true that Christian hermits and ascetics gathered together more frequently after the edict of Constantine. This should be the moment a noticeable monastic movement began to have its initial formation, for the emperor Maximin who conscripted Pachomius persecuted the Christians in his territories which included Palestine, Egypt, and Asia Minor.

Now the deserts earned a new meaning. It was not a hiding place or an underground city anymore. The long period of apocalyptic prophecy was entering into a new stage. Spiritual warfare, as Athanasius pictured in *the Life of Anthony*, as Pachomius' victorious life showed, and as a demon in Macarius' story cried out "you have conquered us." It was now performed by the monks and nuns to take over the land.[267] It was not just spiritual warfare for territory. The churches in the cities already amassed new members

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[265] Chitty, *Desert a City*, 5.
[266] Jones, Wainwright, and Yarnold, *Study of Spirituality*, 593.
[267] Chitty, *Desert a City*, 10, 34.

converted for various reasons. The monastic groups wanted to use the symbolic meaning of the desert and the wilderness by taking more lands and mountains.

This was a strategy that maximized the obvious contrast between the cities and the deserts. The impact of this strategy was found in the numbers of the monks and the monasteries. With the number of the monks around the city of Constantinople and the political conflicts between the ecclesial authorities and the monastic groups, we can assume that the expansion of the monastic influence was not merely a matter of a spiritual life. While the monastic movements strengthened the unity of their spiritual and communal life by standardizing their practices, which were also affected by the standardization and canonization of the Christendom, they should use the two practices of the Jesus Prayer and Lectio Divina for this warfare of the spiritual hegemony. In the process of the invention and the development of the two practices, we see how the simple practices became the most complex practices. Many authorities, related to each other, engaged in the process and affected the transformation by providing different meanings and techniques and by systematizing the contents and order of the practices. By expanding the spiritual meanings of the practices, they could earn wider spiritual territory and larger hegemony. This was a strategy that is technically the same strategy used in the territorial warfare against the churches. Still, we should be extremely cautious to say that the monks used the practices to harm or devalue others' tradition and practices. We should see this kind of competition as a natural process of the development of a spiritual tradition and practice.

Public Support, Freedom, and Rights

For Plato, a city is the gathering of its citizens. The citizens come to join the gathering for different individual needs. This is an agreement with each other. The city then has the public support from the citizens who all together and altogether agree with the goal of the city. In contrast, the citizens are not the rulers in Plato's city. His city desired a highly educated ruler, the philosopher-king. Also, the ruler can limit the freedom and autonomy of the citizens. Aristotle says that humans are social and political by nature. Making a city or joining a society, for Aristotle, is a natural behavior of humans, just like making a home or town. Aristotle emphasizes the autonomy and voluntariness of his citizens through the virtues. His citizens "permanently share in the administration of justice and the holding of office." Cicero's citizens must obey the powers and authorities. He sees the universe as a single community shared by God and humans. As humans obey God, the citizens ought to obey to the powers. He says that the republic is the property of the citizens, but we could say that the citizens, for Cicero, are the property of the republic.

The monastic movements and the early churches from the 3rd century to the 5th century had the support of the public and of the Roman Empire. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the conversion of Constantine was the conversion of the public and that the conversion of the public was the conversion of Constantine. In spite of the frequent persecutions of the empire, Christianity never died. Rather, it had been fed by the blood of the martyrs. The sword and spears of the Roman soldiers stimulated the Christian vision for a new kingdom of heaven and earth. For this vision, Christians could give up literally everything. They were resolute, courageous, and honorable. Many died

with hope for the heavenly kingdom and a new life with the Messiah. Many went to the deserts to fight and wait for the new kingdom. Freedom and rights were luxuries for them. The heavenly citizens were to enjoy the true freedom and rights in the Kingdom of Jesus Christ.

Christians did not ask for freedom and rights from the monastic life. They were happy under the rules because the rules fulfilled their spiritual desires. The rules were strict, but still effective and perfect for their spiritual life. They voluntarily sacrificed any carnal pleasure and their bodies for the sake of Christ. The Christians' desires for freedom and rights were already actualized in their spiritual life through the spiritual reign of Christ and the love of the Lord. The spiritual means and practices were ways to taste the true freedom and rights of heavenly citizens. In and through the practices, they entered the Kingdom of God and fully enjoyed freedom and rights. They saw visions of the new Kingdom where the justice of God rules. They encountered God and Christ as they saw themselves in the mirror. What else should they wish for? They were already in the Kingdom of God.

Conclusion: Politics of the Desert City and the Spiritual Practices

The deserts could be a market and a battle field for the monastic Christians. If this sounds secular, we could rephrase like the following: the monastic Christians as the heavenly soldiers were forced to carry out a spiritual warfare for the expansion of the Kingdom of God in and by the Roman Empire. The monastic spirituality and spiritual practices came into blossom in the politics of the empire. Christian spirituality as a whole came into existence within the politics of the nations and kingdoms. Christian spirituality

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is the fruit of agony as well as pleasure, despair as well as hope, death as well the life, and warfare as well as peace, of the kingdom of the powers as well as the Kingdom of God.

The politics we have studied are the practice of power of the powers. The politics are about the result of the practice of the powers. The place for our spirituality is right in the middle of politics and power. The place for our spiritual practices is everywhere in the matters of politics and power. The history of political thought is eventually a history of our hope, vision, ideals, and future. We have analyzed our current political situations. We did not just stop there. We have suggested a hope, vision, ideals, and a future to ourselves. No one knew what would happen next. The powers were not able to foresee what would happen tomorrow even with all wealth and power. All political powers must have an end to its reign. This means the death of today and the birth of a new tomorrow. A better tomorrow is one of the goals of the political powers either for the power itself or the public, or both. However, there is no predictable tomorrow.

Tomorrow is a matter of probability and possibility. Controlling these factors is one of politics' tasks that decide the length of the reign, the fate of the power, and the life of the public. The powers could use cruel violence or some kind of coercive public power. Other powers would emphasize more public support or welfare. Some probably think that the balance between the use of power and the public welfare is crucial for a better future. It is true. No power, no future. No public welfare, maybe shorter future for the power. Both the political powers and the public want to encounter a better tomorrow. The political powers are the ones who have power to control. The public has power at times. The public, however, does not have the power to control the probability and

possibility. It was almost always true in the first eras of the monastic movements that the political elites decided the fate of a state and the public. Therefore, the political powers were making tomorrow through their desire and ideas about the future they thought beneficial. They were the maker of future and fate.

The public did not have power to control the probability and possibility of their lives. What they possessed to protest the decision of the maker of the fate was the power of God. The Christians as a part of the public were under the influence of the maker of the fate. This was not the tomorrow they had dreamed of. However, they did not have political power to change their future. The difference between the powers and the Christians was something the Christians could not overcome through a political means. The power and covenant of God and the Messiah were the only hope. This was not an imaginary or empty hope. The Christians' God had shown glorious victories over secular powers in the history of the Jewish people. The Old Testament was the book of the God's triumphant and convent. The Messiah defeated the greatest enemy, the death of body. The martyrs' followed the victorious way of Jesus the Messiah. The death of Christians meant the most glorious victory over the violence of the Evil One. The greatest among the heroes were the dead heroes, for they were not simply dead. They were alive in the Christian mind and in the Kingdom of God. The Kingdom could not be built up under the political violence of the empire. Now the Christians were free and safe. The time for the Kingdom of God had arrived.

Building the Kingdom of God was just like making an empire. As Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Augustine stated, it was a complex process that required justice, virtue, source, property, law, citizens, soldier, ruler, city, and ideology. The Christians did not

have a concrete and complete blueprint of the Kingdom of God, for not many of them expected this sort of ending. The Kingdom of God, the Church, in the cities of the empire began to have a relationship with the emperor. The emperor knew how to build a new empire because he was building his new empire too. The emperor and his empire gave hints to the church leaders. The empire had sophisticated laws and systems. The empire conquered neighboring nations and kingdoms and set up the Roman standard for the politics, religion, education, military, and life to control and rule the dependencies. The Kingdom of God in the cities sincerely followed the imperial strategy to build up a solid Kingdom.

The Kingdom of God in the desert learned the same strategy from the empire. The Christians in the desert set up laws and systems first. As the Church had processed the standardization, the monasteries had to accept the standard of the faith of the church. It was the dream of the church leaders like Athanasius to rule the Kingdom in the desert for the unity of the whole Kingdom under Christ. It was a reasonable desire and hope for the one Kingdom of God. The monasteries could not resist to the Church's demands. The monasteries did not yet have a political power like those of the church leaders. They did not possess the apostolic foundation and the patristic origin. Anthony was a hermit. Pachomius was a pagan soldier. Compared to the educated and wealthy Christians in the cities, most monks were just like farmers and common people. The monks were neither clergy nor lay Christians. They were the in-betweens and someone to be defined. It was fortunate for them that Athanasius wrote *the Life of Anthony* and praised the victorious life of Anthony. Chrysostom ardently defended the monastic life. Augustine, affected by *the Life of Anthony*, wrote a rule for the monastic life.

The monastic Christians needed something special that can differentiate their identity and spiritual life from those of the city-Christians, something pure that can contain the orthodox teachings of the Church, something systematic that can project their spiritual ideals and theories, and something effective that can fulfill the spiritual need of their members, justify the strict monastic life, and strengthen the unity of the members. The Jesus Prayer and Lectio Divina were invented and developed as the something for these various reasons. All the political thoughts, events, environments, and people contributed the birth of the two practices.

This conclusion does not mean that the spiritual practices are corrupted or unauthentic. Instead, as a writer of this study, I believe that the two practices are the very evidence for the political ability, possibility, and sensitivity of the Christian spirituality. The birth of the practices reflected the general political meanings of the popular spiritual practices. We will discuss this in the last chapter of this study. In the following chapter, we will examine the history of the Christian pilgrimage and labyrinth. We will study the history of each practice first. Then, we will explore the concept of territory and land through few political-geographical writings about territory and land for the purpose of the following chapter and as a supplementary study for this chapter. The themes of territory and land in the early monastic movements inevitably have an organic relationship with the themes of territory and land in the early Christian-empire relations.

CHAPTER 3

Pilgrimage and Labyrinth: Origin, Development, and Political Dimensions

Pilgrimage: Origin and Development

As Kujawa-Holbrook introduced in her book, *Pilgrimage – the Sacred Art:*

Journey to the Center of the Heart,[268] pilgrimage is a popular spiritual practice found in

most major religions. She provided examples of pilgrimage from various religions.

Buddhists visit places related to the life of Buddha. The four places considered holy are

Lambini where Buddha was born, *Bodh Gaya* where Buddha attained enlightenment,

Sarnath where Buddha first gave his teachings (*dharma*), and *Kusinara* where Buddha

attained complete nirvana (*parinirvana*). Hindus practice pilgrimage throughout their

lifetime. They visit places associated with Gods, such as *Krishna* or *Vishnu*. About a

million Hindus visit the *Jagannatha* temple every year in *Puri*, India. *Jagannatha* is

another name, or an avatar, of *Krishna.* Pilgrimage means, for Hindus, "a passage from

the patterns and routines of daily life to the world of the Divine." In the Jewish tradition,

Jerusalem has been the focus for pilgrimages; while, in Islamic tradition, Mecca has been

considered the center.

In Christianity, we can also see the significance of pilgrimage as a spiritual

practice. The place where Jesus died is a sacred place. Bethlehem and the Mount of

Olives have been accepted as sacred places by the early Christians. Nazareth and

Capernaum received more attention after Constantine built churches at Bethlehem and

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[268] Sheryl A Kujawa-Holbrook, *Pilgrimage-The Sacred Art: Journey to the Center of the Heart* (Woodstock, VT: SkyLight Paths Publishing, 2013), 1–32.

Jerusalem.[269] From the *Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem*[270], a record of an

anonymous pilgrim's itinerary in the 4th century, we can see that several places, like

Tarsus, the Apostle Paul's birth place, Antioch, the center of early Christianity, Joseph's

tomb, Jacob's well, Bethany, Sophia, Constantinople, and so on, were already recognized

as sacred places of Christianity.

Jesus died in the city of Jerusalem, the spiritual center of the Jewish tradition.

Before or when Jesus died, he did not command his disciples to visit the sites where he

was born, grew up, taught, and so on.[271] In addition, pilgrimage was not encouraged by all

theologians or leaders of the early churches. Gregory of Nyssa asked "What advantages,

moreover, is reaped by him who reaches those celebrated spots themselves?"[272] He

believed that there was no gain from "the long journey," i.e., pilgrimage, and thought that

Jerusalem was filled with sins such as rascality, adultery, theft, idolatry, poisoning,

quarrelling, and murder.[273] He did not see any increase of faith from the practice of

pilgrimage. Although Chrysostom was supportive of pilgrimage, he wrote, concerning

the corruption and abuse related to pilgrimage, that "need for none to cross the seas or

fare upon a long journey; let each of us at home invoke God earnestly and He will hear

our prayer."[274] Early church leaders, like Augustine, acknowledged problems in the

practice of pilgrimage. Unregulated spiritual wanderers and begging monks were

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[269] Aubrey Stewart and Charles William Wilson, trans., *Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem*, Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society. v. 1 (London: Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1887), ix.
[270] Stewart and Wilson, *Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem*.
[271] Kujawa-Holbrook, *Pilgrimage-The Sacred Art*, 19.
[272] Kujawa-Holbrook, *Pilgrimage-The Sacred Art*, 19.
[273] St. Gregory of Nyssa, "On Pilgrimages," in *From Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Second Series, Vol. 5. ed. PhilipSchaff and Henry Wace (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1892.) Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight. accessed August 11, 2014,accessed July 17, 2014, http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/2913.htm.
[274] Bede Jarrett, "Pilgrimages," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol 12.Transcribed for New Advent. accessed July 17, 2014, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12085a.htm.

sometimes considered people who threaten the episcopal authority and the order of the church.[275]

Nevertheless, pilgrimage had been encouraged by Christians from various backgrounds. Helena, the mother of Constantine, was one of the most famous and is considered an establisher of the Christian pilgrim tradition by visiting the holy places in Palestine and building basilicas in Jerusalem and Bethlehem.[276] Melania the Elder, Paula, Eustochium, Melania the Younger, and Poemenia were saints, desert mothers, or from aristocratic families, and each visited the holy land or built a church.[277] Egeria, maybe a nun or lay Christian, and a Bordeaux pilgrim kept a record of the itinerary and influenced and promoted the Christian pilgrim tradition.

One core factor that enabled the Christian pilgrimage was Constantine's Empire. Constantine became a friend of Christianity after the battle of Milvian Bridge in 312 A.D. He and his mother, Helena, built basilicas in Bethlehem, the Church of Nativity, and in Jerusalem, the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, around 325 to, or before, 333. Other basilicas have been built throughout the holy land and Europe by the Emperor and Helena. Thereafter, the practice of pilgrimage became a fashion among Christians. The writings of the Bordeaux pilgrim and Egeria were written after the construction of the basilicas. The Bordeaux pilgrim and Egeria visited the basilicas. Theologians like Gregory of Nyssa and John Chrysostom wrote after the construction, and the criticism or encouragement of pilgrimage are found in the writings of other theologians and church leaders after Constantine.

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[275] Kujawa-Holbrook, *Pilgrimage-The Sacred Art*, 21.

[276] Kujawa-Holbrook, *Pilgrimage-The Sacred Art*, 21.

[277] Jan Willem Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem Bishop and City* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 25, http://site.ebrary.com/id/10175321.

Constantine's construction of basilicas was a building policy used to Christianize his empire, and the policy was "intensively implemented in Palestine, the Christian Holy Land."[278] If pagan temples were on the sites, they were destroyed. Constantine thought that building basilicas on the sites showed victory over pagans. Drijvers wrote:

> Constantine's building policy was obviously a propaganda instrument used for 'promoting' Christianity. Constantine seems quite consciously to have wanted to make Palestine, and particularly Jerusalem, one of the centres, if not *the* centre, of Christianity. Constantine's attention and concern for the land of origin of the Christian faith brought Palestine into the limelight of the world[279]

According to Drijvers, and originally Eusebius, Helena's pilgrimage to Palestine was a mission from her son to the East for its Christianization after she was converted to Christianity by her son. She was involved in the construction and supervised the overall process. As Drijvers introduced[280], Eutropia's appeal, as the wife of the emperor Maximianus and the mother of Constantine's wife Fausta, to Constantine demonstrated how quickly Constantine acted on the holy sites occupied by pagans. Eutropia visited the Oak of Mamre where God spoke to Abraham, during her trip, or pilgrimage, in Palestine. There she saw a pagan altar, statues, and sacrifices. She informed Constantine, and Constantine immediately took action. He sent letters to bishops, including Macarius of Jerusalem, and instructed Acarius to destroy the pagan things on the site and build a basilica there.

Constantine wanted to construct a Christian empire. His building policy was a part of his plan to convert non-Christians to Christianity. Constantine needed a new order for his empire and citizens. We can see this effort to Christianize his empire in many

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[278] Jan Willem Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding of the True Cross* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 57.

[279] Drijvers, *Helena Augusta*, 57.

[280] Drijvers, *Helena Augusta*, 70.

events led by him.[281] Christians became free citizens in his empire. He nominated many new Christian governors and pursued theological unity through debates or church councils. Comites, the Emperor's officials, confiscated everything of worth from pagan sanctuaries and priests in every town and village. Pagans, including Jews, were segregated in many social and religious aspects. Most importantly, Christianity became the empire's "official" religion in 324 A.D. Constantine's policy and power was more effective and stronger than any other Christian efforts before or after his empire in Christianizing the world.

Throughout the history of Judaism, Islam, and Christianity, the practice of pilgrimage has been related to matters of territory. The sacred city, Jerusalem, has been the first or the second most important site of three religions. The policy under the Christian power on pilgrimage or other religions was different from that of Muslims. Now Israel's policy must be different from that of medieval Christianity.

The sacred places and the spiritual practices toward the land is essentially a matter of territory, the places become more sacred when they are celebrated, decorated, and equipped by the people from each religion with symbols, architecture, historical monuments, and words and songs. The holy sites exist in the spiritual territory of each practitioner. However, the spiritual territory often extends its boarder to a wider range beyond the physical and legal territory, and even to the universe. For the religious people who occupy the sacred places, it is important to keep a governing power over the places. For the religious people who lost power over the land, the borders or the current legal power over the land is meaningless. For them, the land still land in their territory,

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[281] Drijvers, *Helena Augusta,* 66.

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spiritually and practically. Here spiritual territory results in disagreements and disapprobation against the current territorial occupancy and divisions as Constantine destroyed "the pagan things" on the sites.

The primary reason the sites are considered sacred places is, for Christians, Jesus' life and spirit. Christians want to walk on the land which Jesus walked. They want to smell the scents, touch the wall, see the evidence, drink the spiritual water, and pray with Jesus' spirit. The center, or centers, of Christian pilgrimage are real and physically exist. When they encounter their religious stories in the physical territory, they experience the spiritual impact of the stories through all of their possible physical and spiritual senses. The physical lands stimulate our imaginative power and eventually lead us to various spiritual and physical experiences.

Labyrinth: Origin and Development

In a labyrinth, we may have a similar spiritual experience without a pilgrimage to the holy sites. While the concept and origin of the labyrinth is quite different from pilgrimage, they share some characteristics. Kujawa-Holbrook introduced a succinct history of the labyrinth.[282] The labyrinth has existed since prehistoric times. It is assumed that the first labyrinths were carved on the bones of animals or on the walls of caves and rocks. Some of them are dated from 2000 to 5000 B.C.E. Later, these were drawn on coins, paintings, sculptures, and so on. Stone labyrinths are found in many regions of northern Europe. Some labyrinths are found on pots or jars in Greece and Rome.

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[282] Kujawa-Holbrook, *Pilgrimage-The Sacred Art*, 115–19.

The purpose or meaning of drawing and using the labyrinth varies. For the

Romans, the labyrinths were "considered symbols of protection and guardianship of the

sacred" and "located near important sites in cities and places of worship."[283] The

labyrinths on or near tombs are interpreted as a journey after death or a house of "wished-

for death."[284] The labyrinths found in Asia are often related to the life of the person or the

transmigration of life or soul. Walkers of the labyrinth wished to receive mystic, or

divine, power or fortune from the center of the labyrinth. Some scholars think that the

labyrinths were used for astronomical reasons.[285] They are also interpreted as a step of a

dance or ritual.[286]

The use of the labyrinth in Christianity has a long history, as do various forms of

Christian spiritual practice. Although we do not know the very first Christian labyrinth,

according to McCullough, the first floor labyrinth, or "the oldest surviving one," is the

one in the Algiers cathedral; it is from the 4th century.[287] This labyrinth is Roman in that

its pathway is just like other labyrinths found all over North Africa and is Christian in

that it has letters at the center, *Sancta Ecclesia* (Holy church). The Roman labyrinths

were also not placed in a temple or at sacred sites, but near[288]

The first Christian labyrinths large enough to be walked and danced on were the

ones installed between the 12th and 13th century in the Chartres Cathedral and in other

cathedrals in northern France. McCullough noted that the labyrinths in the Chartres

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[283] Kujawa-Holbrook, *Pilgrimage-The Sacred Art,* 117.
[284] David W McCullough, *The Unending Mystery: A Journey through Labyrinths and Mazes* (New York: Anchor Books, 2005), 228–29.
[285] Kujawa-Holbrook, *Pilgrimage-The Sacred Art,* 113; Esther M Sternberg, *Healing Spaces: The Science of Place and Well-Being* (Cambridge, MA.: Belknap Press, 2010), 106.
[286] Sternberg, *Healing Spaces,* 106.
[287] McCullough, *Unending Mystery,* 53.
[288] McCullough, *Unending Mystery,* 66.

Cathedral, and other labyrinths found in northern Europe, are a new labyrinth converted from the classic Cretan to Christianity. The characteristics of the Christian labyrinths include eleven circuit pathways, Christian symbols or letters at the center instead of the Minotaur[289] or other pagan paintings, the spacious pathways were designed to be walked, danced, or even to be played, and the location of the labyrinths in the cathedrals.

Much like the pilgrimage was contested by church leaders, the practice of the walking, or dancing, labyrinths has not been welcomed by all Christians. Kujawa-Holbrook summarized the reasons: First, it has an obvious pre-Christian history and superstitious elements. Second, dancing, singing, and gaming on and around the labyrinths were considered things to be stopped. Third, after the French Revolution, anticlericalism and iconoclasm were aroused.

In Christianity, the labyrinths have been given many Christian meanings. They were viewed as the path to Jerusalem. For those who cannot make pilgrimages to the holy cities or sites, the labyrinths were a good option to walk.[290] According to McCullough, by the 18th century the term "the path to Jerusalem" started to be used. He asserted that there is no evidence to believe that 13th century Christians saw the labyrinths that way.[291] However, it is not difficult to assume that walkers might imagine that they walked the Way of the Cross or the path to Jerusalem on the labyrinths. The octagonal labyrinths found in northern France present baptism, as do the baptisteries with its eight-sided or octagonal shape. The labyrinths, therefore, were thought to be a symbol of the spiritual

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[289] About the legend of Theseus and Minotaur, see Kujawa-Holbrook, *Pilgrimage-The Sacred Art*, 118.

[290] Kujawa-Holbrook, *Pilgrimage-The Sacred Art*, 120.

[291] McCullough, *Unending Mystery*, 82.

rebirth and as a path to be a new being.[292] The labyrinths have also been walked as a path

to God or heaven.

Pilgrimage and Labyrinth: Walking the Empire as the Land of the Christian Heroes and the Holy Land as the Territory of the Roman Emperors

The land where the Christian heroes lived and died became the sites for

pilgrimage. From Jesus and Paul to Anthony the Great, the land of the heroes has been

considered holy and venerable to Christians. Even though different early Christian groups

encouraged their members to visit different places, the places related to one or more of

the biblical figures have always been visited and walked by the Christian pilgrims.

Among these places, the cities of Jerusalem and Rome remain the most visited Christians

pilgrim sites. Walkers of the labyrinths sometimes walk the path to the Jerusalem or the

Stations of the Cross.

As noted above, one of the factors that promoted the early Christian pilgrimage

was Constantine's building policies, which Drijvers calls "a propaganda instrument for

promoting Christianity." As Dungan summarizes, Constantine acted as the universal

bishop and carried out his missions for Christianity and eventually for his empire.[293] One

of the missions was making the Roman Sunday a legal Christian Sunday to rest and

worship God in 321. From this moment on, Christianity became the public religion for all

citizens of the empire. His declaration for the Christian Sunday was his declaration to be

the guardian of the Church and the bishop of the spiritual Christians. The Christian

Sunday demanded the places to worship. He helped, legally and financially in the

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[292] McCullough, *Unending Mystery,* 76.
[293] Dungan, *Constantine's Bible,* 314–18.

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restoring and rebuilding the house-churches. As seen above, the basilicas were the most visible achievement of his building plans. In addition, the emperor asked his soldiers to attend the Christian worship on Sunday. The soldiers who refused this order needed to recite a prayer every Sunday. The subject countries of the empire were also forced to accept the emperor's religion.

As the emperor, he did not want any kingdom replacing his empire. Even the Kingdom of God should not take over his empire. Instead, he tried to combine the two kingdoms of God and of the emperor. Although there was some theological and political resistance, Constantine's ideal eventually became the dominating driving force in effect to define the relationship between the two kingdoms, forcefully or voluntarily. We watched an example at the council of Nicene in the agreement among bishops that the emperor is ordained to rule the earth. This is not the idea that many other monastic Christians held at that time. Augustine, a post-Constantinian priest and bishop with his monastic spirit and rule, showed a dual understanding of the City of God and of humans. In Aquinas, Dante, and Marsilius, the relationship between the Church power and the secular power was one of the central political themes. Machiavelli argued for the use of religion for the unity of the monarchy. Here we see that the process of defining the relationship between the Church and the empire became one of the most significant matters for the early Church and Christians as a whole. As the emperor knew the theological controversies and the possible risk for his empire, he must be aware of the meaning of his Christian "building mission" between his empire and the Church. The political meaning of land and territory can help us to grasp the political meanings of Constantine's mission for the empire as the land of the Christians heroes. Through this

study we will examine a concept of territory and land as a strong political theme in the birth of the two practices.

The Building Mission of Constantine

We briefly studied that Constantine's mother Helena's contribution to his son's building policy and observed that the building policy was an intentional imperial task for the Christianization of the empire. Here we need to see how Helena and Constantine captivated Christians' hearts and made them strong supporters. Helena was not a Christian before her son converted to Christianity.[294] Regarding her hard work for Christianity, we can even say that she was a devout Christian mom even as we focus on the political meanings of Helena's works for his son's empire.

Helena's travels around the Holy Land were expensive. It was not only because of the entourage which included imperial officials and military but also for her generous donations for the people around the holy sites she visited. Her contribution was "imperial largess" for soldiers and citizens including "the poor and downtrodden everywhere."[295] Helena offered prayers at the holy sites for her son and grandsons. It is assumed that she visited every site related to the life of Jesus. The sites include Nazareth, Capernaum, Galilee, Bethlehem, and Jerusalem.[296] One of the most famous stories of Helena at the time recounts her discovery of the True Cross in Ambrose's obituary sermon in 395 and

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[294] Samuel N. C. Lieu, "Constantine in Legendary Literature," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, ed. Noel Emmanuel Lenski, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 303–04.

[295] Charles M. Odahl, *Constantine and the Christian Empire*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2010), 211.

[296] Odahl, *Constantine and the Christian Empire*, 211–12.

Paulinus of Nola's letter to the historian Severus in 402 or 403.[297] She found the True

Cross during her visit to Jerusalem while searching for the True Cross, "probably in

327."[298] She built basilicas on her own authority or a direct request to her son.[299] Many

basilicas are the collaborative work of Helena and her son.

Considering the process of building basilicas and the stories of her pilgrimage to

the Holy Land, it would not be wrong to say that Helena was the advance guard for the

emperor's building policy. Odahl tells two political reasons for Helena's pilgrimage; "to

increase the public support" and "to maintain divine endorsement of the Constantinian

Dynasty."[300] The devotion of the mother of the emperor to Christ's life, land, the church

was meant to inspire Christians of her generation and after. Her charity aimed to deeply

impress Christians to be the supporters of the first Christian empire. The laborious task of

building or rebuilding the basilicas was Helena's biggest political achievement. This

means that the once invisible house-churches were now visible and that the Christians in

the small churches met in huge basilicas across the empire. These provided enough

reasons for Christians, the invincible soldiers of God, to be the supporters of the empire

and the Emperor.

Constantine also captured Christians' hearts by showing his veneration for the

Christian heroes, the martyrs and the saints. Sumption says in his book *The Age of*

Pilgrimage that "the veneration of the relics of the saints is attested by unimpeachable

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[297] Lieu, "Constantine in Legendary Literature," in *Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, ed. Lenski, 304

[298] Mark J. Johnson, "Architecture of Empire," in *Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, ed. Lenski, 285.

[299] Odahl, *Constantine and the Christian Empire*, 211.

[300] Odahl, *Constantine and the Christian Empire*, 211.

evidence as early as the second century."[301] The story of Polycarp's martyrdom around

150 is one of the oldest stories about the veneration of the relics. After he was burned to

death, Christians took Polycarp's bones to celebrate the anniversary of his martyrdom.[302]

The great persecution of Diocletian killed many Christians and church leaders, so more

bones had been collected by Christians. The veneration of the relics had been encouraged

by the church leaders like Augustine and Aquinas, though there have been

controversies.[303] Augustine thought that the relics were the venerable "temples of faith"

and "merits of the martyrs" that secured martyrs' intercession by prayer. Aquinas

summarized his reasons for the relics: a personal friendship with the saints, the Holy

Spirit's work and God sanction to the bodies that distinguishes the bodies from the holy

images of the Greek Church, and God's miracle and wish for the bodies to be venerated.

The tombs and the shrines of the martyrs were among the most popular sites for

Christians to visit. Even the soil from the tombs of the martyrs was venerated, especially

from the Holy Sepulcher, "the greatest of all martyr churches."[304]

What Constantine did was impressive enough for Christians and church leaders

who respected this tradition of the relics. Constantine converted a part of the private

imperial structure into a church, once called *Hierusalem*, Jerusalem, and now called S.

Crocs in Gerusallemme.[305] This church at some point later became the house of the relics

of the True Cross. Other important basilicas and churches related to the relics of the

saints are the church of St. Peter on the burial place of Peter, the cemetery church on the

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[301] Jonathan Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage : The Medieval Journey to God* (Mahwah, NJ: HiddenSpring, 2003), 21.

[302] Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage,* 21.

[303] Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage,* 22–24.

[304] Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage,* 25; Martin Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem : The Clash of Ancient Civilizations,* 1st U.S. ed. (New York: Alfred AKnopf, 2007), 537.

[305] Johnson, *"Architecture of Empire,"* 285.

Verano hill near the tomb of the martyr Lawrence, the cemetery church of S. Agnese on Via Nomentana at Constantine's daughter request, the cemetery church on Via Ardeatina built by Pope Mark with Constantine's help, and many more.[306] The way Constantine treated the bones of the saints and martyrs also showed his care for the tradition, as Odahl introduces in the account of building the church of St. Peter:

> And they [Pope Sylvester, Constantine, and Helena] had arranged for the bones of the Apostle to be wrapped in a purple cloth sewn with golden thread, lifted carefully from their original earthen grave…placed in the center of monument a gold cross engraved with black enamel letters commemorating that 'Constantine the Augustus and Helena the Augusta adorn with gold this regal shrine which a basilican hall shining with similar splendor surrounds.'[307]

Constantine brought the relics of the Apostle Andrew and Luke to Constantinople and deposited these in the church of the Holy Apostles.[308] Later his son Constantius brought the relics of Timothy.

From the small house-churches to the first great Christian Church, the Lateran Basilica, and many basilicas, shrines, and churches over the Constantine's empire and over the Holy Land, Constantine and Helena carried out an outstanding building program. Both knew the meanings of the things, places, and invisible values of the Christian tradition of pilgrimage and the relics. They developed and strengthened these traditions with their wealth, political power and influence, and knowledge and insights about architectures and lands. Most importantly, they did these works with a great care and through the participation and help of the church leaders and Christians. They combined the land of heroes with the territory of the emperor. The souls and bodies of the heroes were preserved and venerated as they considered sacrificing themselves for the empire.

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[306] Johnson, "*Architecture of Empire*," 286-91.
[307] Odahl, *Constantine and the Christian Empire*, 209.
[308] Johnson, "*Architecture of Empire*," 294-95.

All the Apostolic sites became the holy sites. All the places related to the life and

ministry of Jesus were restored and renovated. Maybe they already knew the glorious

architecture of the Greeks or the Egyptians, but their sensitivity even to the invisible

churches and the spiritual taste of the Christians resulted in an unprecedented historical

event to a single religion, Christianity. We should say that the mission was completed.

Sacred Place and Territory: Political Meanings of the Constantine's Mission from a Contemporary Perspective

In this section, we will explore the political meanings of the Holy Land through

some contemporary scholars' studies on the meaning of place and territory in geography,

economy, and politics. The reason to use the thoughts of contemporary scholars for a

serious study on territory is because the topic remains relatively new to us. In the preface

of Gottmann's book, *The Significance of Territory*, published in 1973, he wrote that

"Amazingly little has been published about the concept of territory, although much

speech, ink and blood has been spilled over territorial disputes."[309] One of the books

published before Gottmann that he should have included in his bibliography was

Kantorowicz's *King's Two Bodies*, originally published in 1937. Sassen borrowed ideas

from both to explain the development of the concept of territory in her book *Territory,*

Authority, and Rights, originally published in 2006.[310] Now we have more books

regarding territory in various fields like geography, military science, political science,

economy, globalization, and so on. The lack of the books on territory in the past, however,

does not mean that we did not understand the significance. Our recognition of the

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[309] Jean Gottmann, *The Significance of Territory* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1973), ix.

[310] Saskia Sassen, *Territory, Authority, Rights : From Medieval to Global Assemblages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 41.

significance of territory has always been abundantly filed into the whole history of humankind. The study of territory is an interesting field of study, but we cannot spend many pages in discussion with this dissertation. We will briefly review few scholars' studies relating to our study.

In another article, Gottmann said that "territory is a concept generated by people organizing space for their own aims" and that the term territory in European language has been used since 14th century "to define at first the jurisdiction or even the economic orbit of such governmental units as free cities, feudal fiefs or kingdoms...existed long before the 14th century and it acquire more significance since."[311] He continued, "The concept of national territory was preceded in the medieval West by an acceptance of the concept of *patria*, the fatherland, the country to which a man belongs and for the defense of which he is prepared to sacrifice his life."[312] We saw this word fatherland in the previous chapter when we talked about Territory, Location, and Spiritual Warfare. Under the imperial persecution, the church leaders encouraged their members to consider the foreign lands they were staying as the fatherland.

Where and what was the fatherland for Christians? As we can assume, Kantorowicz points out that

> The Christian, according to the teaching of the early Church and the Fathers, had become the citizen of a city in another world. His true *patria* was the Kingdom of Heaven, the celestial city of Jerusalem. The final return to that spiritual and eternal 'fatherland' was, according to the Apostolic Epistles, the natural desire of the Christian soul peregrinating on earth...The community of blessed and saints was, after all, the civic assembly of the celestial *patria* which the soul desired to join. For the sake of that *communis patria* in heaven the martyrs had shed their blood. The Christian martyr, therefore, who had

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[311] Jean Gottmann, "The Evolution of the Concept of Territory," *Social Science Information* 14, no. 3 (August 1, 1975): 29–30.
[312] Gottmann, *Significance of Territory*, 34.

offered himself up for the invisible polity and had for his divine Lord *pro fide*, was to
remain – remain until the twentieth century – the genuine model of civic self-sacrifice.[313]

The Kingdom of Heaven and Jerusalem had been considered the most important lands for

the Jewish people since the first temple built and destroyed. This repeated couple more

times. At the same time, the apocalyptic and messianic traditions grew in the Jewish

religious and political contexts. The Jewish Christians inherited the same traditions from

their original religion. They developed their own ideas with new meanings and contents.

In the previous chapter, we assume that the monastic Christians would be affected by the

ancient Greek political thoughts and that Christians in the cities would get hints from the

Roman Empire. Kantorowicz would partly agree with our assumption by saying that

"Christian doctrine, by transferring the political notion of *polis* to the other world and by

expanding it at the same time to a *regnum coelorum* [Kingdom of Heaven], not only

faithfully stored and preserved the political ideas of the ancient world, as so often it did,

but also prepared new ideas for the time when the secular began to recover its former

peculiar values."[314]

Though we could not say that Constantine and Helena had the sophisticated

thoughts found in Gottmann and Kantorowicz, Constantine and Helena's building

mission is a strong evidence for their understanding the significance of the support of the

Christian public in making the unity in the new Christian empire and the significance of

the Holy Land for their overall imperial goal. Again we should not say that the entire

building mission was only for political aims. However, we can say that the more they

became devoted, the more they would recognize the significance of the Holy Land.

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[313] Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies : A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*
(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 234–35.
    [314] Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*, 235.

Therborn writes that "The World Religions have also realized the significance of places of mass assembly, as manifested by the place around the Kaaba in Mecca or outside the church of St. Peter in Rome."[315] The Greeks and Romans already had agora, forum, square, court, garden, basilica, and palace as the central public places of the cities. They also had the previous emperors' building programs and great temples of the Greek Parthenon and the Roman Pantheon in their cities. The city of Athens, Rome, Alexandria, and Rome were the central cities, capitals for the politics, cultures, and religions of each age. A small society has a relatively small size center, and a larger society has a larger size central place. Each region or group of people has centralized a place and given centrality to the certain place for a certain reason.

Christian spirituality is not an exception. To make a holy place is to make a public place politically and strategically essential. Here a holy place is not a personal or private place. A personal holy place cannot be a holy land or a public place unless it is given a public meaning by the public or the leaders of the public. The Holy Land is a public place that contains a story or stories. The stories should also contain social, political, or religious gravity for the people whom the stories aim at. Each pilgrim site has its own story. Each sacred place provides a story or stories. A more dramatic story makes the place more popular or sacred. The main character of the story should be a figure or something that can represents the ideologies of the public or of someone who want to promote the ideologies. For the Christians of the early church, they were the saints, martyrs, the relics, Jesus and the apostles, and other things related to them. In many cases, the credibility of a story does not a matter. If the story teller has authority, the story

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[315] Göran Therborn, 'Why and How Place Matters,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Science*, ed. Goodin, 928.

earned its credibility. If the main character of a story is a holy person, the holy person's

credibility becomes the credibility of the story. The combination of authority and a holy

character can create synergy and make the teller, the main character, the place, and the

story itself true and reliable.

The pilgrimage sites and the Holy Land in this sense are complex spaces that have

various political, religious, and social meanings. A place under a certain political power

can be a holy place or not. Constantine destroyed the previous holy places and built new

holy buildings. The gravity of social and public places like a forum, temple, and basilica

moved to the Christian basilicas, shrines, churches, and other holy sites. This enabled

Christians to hold mass gatherings in small regions or in big cities. The gatherings were

regular or constant. The holy sites especially around the lands of Jerusalem and Palestine

became the *patria* to the Christians including the monastic Christians. This happened

through a strong political figure, the religious leaders, the holy people, the holy sites, and

the holy stories. The pilgrimage is, therefore, also a complex religious, social, and

political action toward the powers, the people, the spaces, and the stories.

Then pilgrimage, as a complex human action, should have a more complex

territorial meaning. If pilgrimage has combined religious, social, and political elements,

the holy sites should be a territory that has a complex meaning through which all three

elements are found. Gottmann writes like the following:

> Territory, although a very substantial, material, measurable, and concrete entity, is the
> product and indeed the expression of the psychological features of human groups. It is
> indeed a psychosomatic phenomenon of the community, and as such is replete with inner
> conflict and apparent contradictions. Territorial sovereignty is an indispensable attribute
> of independent nations; the territory is the very basis on which national existence rests,
> the 'sacred soil' in whose defense true citizens will be prepared to give their lives. The
> concept is one of self-preservation, but also one of preserving the community's way of
> life, the right to self-government, freedom, and, and whatever opportunity a free people is

entitled to. If territory must coincide and coexist with a certain unity of jurisdiction, it is impregnated with the purposes of that legal function. [316]

In Gottmann's understanding of the concept of territory, territory is both a material and concrete entity and a psychological entity. Thus he writes that "the concept of territory with its material and psychological components is a psychosomatic device needed to preserve the freedom and variety of separate communities in an interdependent accessible space."[317] In this remark, "freedom and variety of separate communities" seems contradict his own definition we have seen above: "territory is a concept generated by people organizing space for their own aims." This is actually not so, for he thinks that the concept of territory is changing and has been directed by new principles.[318]

In addition, we need to know that after his historical research on the concept of territory Gottmann gives a concluding definition of the concept at the end of his article for his contemporaries. He writes that "Ultimately territory appears to be a concept to pursue the well-being of the people occupying it." If the 14th century was a significant period for the concept of territory for him as he says, and if he needs to define the changing term for his readers, his definition for his readers should include "freedom and variety." Also, Gottmann notes that variety has always existed in most nation-states as these contexts are and through the concept of territory are discussed.[319] Variety is, therefore, a part of well-being of his contemporaries that is to be pursued. Therefore, for our study, we need to focus on the other constant themes in the psychosomatic device of

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[316] Gottmann, *Significance of Territory*, 15.
[317] Gottmann, *Evolution of the Concept of Territory*, 45.
[318] Gottmann, *Evolution of the Concept of Territory*, 36.
[319] Gottmann, *Evolution of the Concept of Territory*, 42.

Gottmann's concept of territory like "their own aims" and "well-being" and "security, opportunity, and happiness."[320]

As the psychosomatic phenomenon of a certain community, borrowing Gottmann's words, the community in their territory pursues their own aims and well-being. In their sacred soil, the true citizens of the community are ready to give their lives for the self-preservation of the community and oneself. In this community in their sacred soil, an independent sovereignty, self-government, freedom, opportunity, and a function of legal system are the fundamental elements for territorial life. In this regard, we could probably say that territory is not just a random space, but a space that is to realize the community's ideology. In other words, the community in a certain territory having a certain concept or sense of territory would be more self-centered, goal-centered, and function-centered.

If the context of our study for the previous and this chapter is our post-modern and globalizing world, freedom, rights, and variety would be included to the tasks of the community in a certain territory. On the other hand, Constantine and the early church leaders would not agree with our post-modern perspective. In their territory, Constantine and the early Christians understood their own aims and well-being in a quite different way. Especially considering their territorial building mission, it becomes clearer that their aims and well-being starts from the occupation of the socially, politically, and spiritually meaningful lands and spaces like the deserts, the cities, and the sites.

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[320] Gottmann, *Evolution of the Concept of Territory*, x.

Therborn says that "politics begins with place."[321] This was more so for the

ancient people in the Greek *polis* and the Roman Empire. Now we have cyber space from

which politics sometimes begin. However, Therborn says that place is still important, but

less.[322] Therborn thinks that place has had effects and implication that is a legacy of the

past.[323] He does not think that the legacy is gone, for places never disappear. He provides

us with an insight about why and how place matters.

> While increasingly mobile, human beings still locate themselves in places, fixed,
> contiguous, distinctive. Places mold actors, structuring their life chances, providing them
> with identities and traditions of social and political action. Places direct actors, by
> attraction or repulsion, providing compasses of action, contribute to the meaning of life
> by orienting civic action, contribute to the meaning of life by orienting civic action,
> supporting action, subject action, consuming action, celebration, remembrance, mourning,
> non-action. Social action almost always takes place in a specific location. Places are
> strategic sites of action, very much affecting outcomes of success, victory, and power –
> and their opposites. The creation, development, or destruction of places form an
> important part of political agendas. [324]

Therborn understand that there are four dimensions of place[325]. First, a civic-political

dimension represents a certain political or cultural region and a particular political or

cultural (for instance, religious) history. Second, a socioeconomic dimension refers to a

particular socioeconomic structure (agrarian, industrial, commercial, for example) and to

a state of being prosperous or poor. Third, a social spatial or geosocial dimension

designates center or periphery, largeness or smallness, rurality or urbanity. Fourth, a

natural location is a place's natural environment that is coastal or inland, plain or

mountainous, the quality of soil, and the character of the climate. With and through all

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[321] Göran Therborn, 'Why and How Place Matters,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Science*, ed. Goodin, 906.
[322] Göran Therborn, 'Why and How Place Matters,' 940.
[323] Göran Therborn, 'Why and How Place Matters,' 940.
[324] Göran Therborn, 'Why and How Place Matters,' 940.
[325] Göran Therborn, 'Why and How Place Matters,' 911–12.

these dimensions, place "affects the consequences of action" and "is an eminent outcome of action."[326]

The Holy Land and the pilgrimage sites, again borrowing Therborn's word, provide Christians with identities and traditions of religious action, by attraction and contributing to the meaning of their Christian life, orients a civic and religious action of various kind, and are the strategic sites of political and religious action and the parts of Christian political agenda, very much affecting outcomes of success, victory, and power. The Holy Land and the pilgrim sites affect the consequences of action and is an eminent outcome of action. This is true when we see the consequences of the political actions of Constantine, the Medieval Crusades, and the wars in and for the Holy Land. At the same time, in reverse, we see the Holy Land as a place "to be in, to defend or liberate, to visit, and of discursive reference."[327]

Kantorowicz's community of blessed and saints is the civic assembly of the celestial *patria* which the soul desired to join. Martyrs gave blood for this invisible polity and became the genuine models of civic self-sacrifice. Gottmann's concept of territory includes a psychosomatic phenomenon of a community for the aims, defense and self-preservation, and self-government. Therborn's place provides identity, tradition, attraction, and the reasons for action. Regarding all these understandings of the community, place, and territory, the mission of Constantine was a highly political action for the kingdom, the community, the self, and the territory.

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[326] Göran Therborn, 'Why and How Place Matters,' 911.
[327] Göran Therborn, 'Why and How Place Matters,' 920–24.

Some would say that Constantine's desire toward the new Christian empire was purely for a spiritual or religious reason. While we can accept this claim as truth, the political dimensions and meanings of his mission never disappear. His action brought certain political changes, other political actions, consequences of political actions, and outcomes of political action. Constantine was the highest and the strongest politician of his time in his territory. If he was a president of the United States of Romericana, he would get more votes from the people of the regions that he had worked hard for. His campaign for his re-election would collect much money from the people of the regions. If the regions were the most important regions for his re-election like some states of the USA are, he would win the election with the support of the people of these regions. The president and the people are the political partners.

We have briefly studied the significance of place and territory for the communal, psychological, and political understanding of Constantine's mission. In sum, giving a centrality to a certain place is pursuing the aims, the well-being, and the desires of oneself and a community for the invisible and visible polity, the identity, the tradition, and self-preservation of oneself and a community. For Constantine, certain places that needed centrality were Rome, Jerusalem, and Byzantium, later called Constantinople. His mission for these places and the consequences of his mission were not coincidental. He invested much money, time, energy, resource, human resource, technology, art, and his spirit in the places. Without a firm political and religious conviction about the benefits of one's political actions, no one would spend that much and risk one's political life.

Constantine's building mission seems first for the Christians, including himself, and the Christendom. The pagan traditions of the relics became Christian traditions. The

common religious tradition of pilgrimage now had certain Christian meanings and implications. The Christians came to own their holy structures and sites decorated with magnificent architectural designs and ornaments. These structures and sites began to work as places to give identity, tradition, spiritual strength, and sense of protection and preservation embracing the great stories of the saints, martyrs, and other heroes. Above all, this helped the Christians to define the relationship between the Kingdom of God and the empire. The Christians would have had a sense of *patria* to the empire filled with shrines, churches, basilicas, and the holy sites. As Augustine said that military service can please God, the Christian soldiers who enlisted in the Roman Army would want to use physical strength, the gift of God, against the people who wielded strength against God. As Helegeland shows, there were Christian soldier-martyrs who died for their objections to Roman military religion; Constantine's Christian soldiers would not sacrifice themselves at least for that reason anymore.[328] Even though not all Christians liked Constantine's Christian policies, it is obvious that many Christians enjoyed the Christianization of the empire to some extent. Since the Christianization at least meant the removal of the present and possible future enemies, rivals, and political threats through standardization, canonization, and appropriation of the land, the church leaders who were in the Christian hierarchy would consider the positive aspects of Constantine's policies. For the monastic Christians, all these changes could have a different meaning.

Sheldrake's *Spaces for the Sacred: Place, Memory, and Identity* is a great book for the people who want to study meanings of place in religion, theology, philosophy,

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[328] John Helegeland, 'Christians and the Roman Army from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine,' in *Aufstieg Und Niedergang Der Römischen Welt: Principat. v.*, ed. Joseph Vogt and Wolfgang Haase, (De Gruyter, 1987), 797.

spirituality and even politics and geography. To make a connection between the Christian

empire of this chapter and the monastic desert-city of the previous chapter in regards to

place and territory, we will focus especially on the fourth chapter of this book, *The*

Practice of Place: Monasteries and Utopias.[329]

Sheldrake begins this chapter by saying that "Monasticism is essentially

concerned with changing places, literally and metaphorically. At the heart of Christian

theology, and therefore spirituality, is an invitation to enter a new world. Here and now,

we are invited to become citizens of an imaginative world that reshapes who we

understand ourselves to be and which defined by the place of Jesus."[330] We wrote about

Constantine and Helena's building mission that "their aims and well-being starts from the

occupation of the socially, politically, and spiritually meaningful lands and spaces like

the deserts, the cities, and the sites." To the monastic Christians, the occupation of a land

was an essential mission too. For example, Pachomius with his plan and ideal should find

a place to realize his plan and ideal. He chose the desert regarding all the political,

religious, and natural condition of the people who would join and the place where the

head quarter laid. He would not ignore the essential conditions of the residence for a

communal life, for his community would consume water and food. The community also

needed a place and structure in which they could protect themselves from the potential

dangers like wild animals, bandits, other religious people around them, and thieves.

We can probably say that the early building mission of the monastic movements

was another building mission. Considering its result, without competing with the

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[329] Philip Sheldrake, *Spaces for the Sacred : Place, Memory, and Identity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 90–118.
[330] Sheldrake, *Spaces for the Sacred,* 90.

Constantine's building mission, a new building mission had processed. We saw that one of the reasons that stimulated the rise of the monastic movements was the political context of the Roman Empire. We maybe do not want to say that the very early ascetics and hermits chose a special Christian life as a reaction to the political environment, but we cannot ignore the effect of the politics of the empire. However, later the early mega monastic movements could be seen as one of the reactions of Christians to the Church-Empire from Constantine and on. Although the monasteries lost their autonomy and ruling power over their territories to some extent after the Church, the aristocrats, and the emperors engaged more in the politics of the monastic movements, and earned political power over the Church and the kingdoms to some extent during the medieval times, it would be correct to say that the monastic movements was a reaction to the Church-Empire in the very first stage of their life.

Sheldrake's idea helps us to grasp two characteristics of their reactions. These two characteristics could be two differences between the monastic mission and the mission of Constantine on their own lands. He writes:

> Monastic disengagement from start was a social and political statement as well as a theological one. We cannot overlook the vital importance in the fourth century of 'social meaning.' The presence of heavenly power on earth expressed in the monastic life was closely related to an ascetic stance to 'this world' – represented by disentangling oneself from conventional social and economic obligation in favour of a reshaping of human relations...The lives of the great monastic founder Anthony the Great, or of Simeon Stylites the eccentric ascetic on his roadside pillar near Antioch, reveal that holy men and women did not leave social or public roles behind entirely. In fact, by standing (geographically and socially) outside normal boundaries, the ascetic was accepted as a spiritual guide and social arbitrator. It appears that monasticism, in its origins, should be viewed as having a prophetic role vis-à-vis the human city rather than simply a providing an escape route into an alternative, purified universe.[331]

The first characteristic is a reshaping of human relations. The early Christians came from various backgrounds. Helegeland says that Jews, slaves, and other non-citizens were a

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[331] Sheldrake, *Spaces for the Sacred,* 91–94.

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large part of the Christian population in the first two centuries.[332] Hatlie writes that one of

the purposes of the canon of Chalcedon, observed in the previous chapter, is for "weeding

out monks with a slave background."[333] He also says that even though few Christians

with slave background became prominent monks like Thaddaios of the Stoudios

monastery in the 8th century, they had enough reason to be monks and to be a big part of

the movements.[334] The slaves, servants, poor, and non-citizens were at the very bottom of

the social hierarchy of the Roman Empire. For them, the monastic way of communal life

would be attractive in that they could have a job based on their previous vocation, a place

to withdraw from coercive social obligations, a group of people living together without

discrimination, an opportunity for education, and various spiritual practices as they

strongly desired. They put themselves outside the Church-Empire for their second life.

The second characteristic is the birth of the new social leaders. From the early

monastic movements to the medieval times, the influence of the monastic leaders was

enormous.[335] From the teachings on prayer and spiritual matters to the political matter of

the cities around the monasteries, the monastic leaders engaged in every aspect of the

followers spiritual and social matters in and outside the monasteries and were viewed as a

kind of leaders. The early monastic leaders were a new leadership located between the

empire and the church. This does not mean that they connected one to the other. They

were the new leaders of the new people for their second life. Becoming a monastic leader

meant having social leadership as a regulator, judge, advisor, counselor, ambassador,

caregiver, and teacher. As Sheldrake says, they put themselves outside normal boundaries

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[332] John Helegeland, 'Christians and the Roman Army from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine,' 795.
[333] Hatlie, *Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople*, 39.
[334] Hatlie, *Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople*, 265, 273.
[335] Hatlie, *Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople*, 35.

and performed within a new leadership whose authority could be distinguished from other kinds.

With the building mission and pilgrimage of Constantine and Helena and the same mission of the monastic movements, we also find some similarities related to our studies with Therbon, Gottmann, and Kantorowicz. As we have studied the tradition of the martyrs and saints and the relics and the identity of the monastic Christians as the new heroes, soldiers, and the successors of the martyrs, the chosen place, as Therborn said, provided identity, tradition, and strategy of action, for as Gottmann wrote, for the aims and well-being of the people who occupying it and as Kantorowicz pointed out, as the *patria* which the soul desired to join. Creating and occupying a place was for the monastic Christians a social, political, and religious action just like the building mission of Constantine. The numbers and influences of the Christian basilicas and churches through the work of Constantine and of the monastic buildings and structures of the movements are other similarities that encourage us to think that there were two different but similar building missions in two different lands going on from the 4th century on. At some points of the Christian history, they merged to form the final version of the Christendom. True Christendom gave birth to the supra-spiritual power over the super spiritual power of the church and the monastic movements. This was not the first intention, but was destined to happen eventually.

The Roman Christian Labyrinth: A Theory

The Labyrinth has a special meaning of place. In labyrinths, all places exist, and no place exists. It is not a place, but a place. In the labyrinth, there is the center of the

earth, the womb of the earth, the path to the heart, an ideal world, the path to the city of Jerusalem, and the Way to the Cross. The labyrinth has been used for various reasons by many different people. From the earliest people to the current revival, the labyrinth has been means to pursue one's spiritual life and concern. For our study in this section, we will focus on Theseus in the labyrinth and the survival of the labyrinth in the Roman Empire. Kern's book *Through the Labyrinth* is the best academic book that studies the Labyrinth as the only theme.

As we have seen above, the earliest known Christian labyrinth was in the Algiers cathedral, the Basilica of Saint Reparata. The basilica was founded 11 years after the Edict of Milan.[336] The labyrinth in the basilica is the first Roman labyrinth containing Christian meaning.[337] The Roman labyrinth is a mosaic labyrinth, which Kern calls exclusively a Roman phenomenon.[338] The mosaic labyrinths are mostly "square, with sides between 3 m or 4 m long, and surrounded by depictions of fortifications with battlements, protected by towers, and divided into quadrants that must crossed successively to reach the center, which usually bears a polychromatic illustration of exquisite workmanship."[339] The Greek hero Theseus's battle against the Minotaur is one important motif repeatedly shown in the Roman labyrinths. Theseus was the son of the

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[336] Hermann Kern, *Through the Labyrinth : Designs and Meanings over 5,000 Years* (Munich: Prestel, 2000), 143.
[337] Kern, *Through the Labyrinth*, 88.
[338] Kern, *Through the Labyrinth*, 85.
[339] Kern, *Through the Labyrinth*, 85.

king of Athens and killed the Minotaur, half-human and half-animal, at the center of the labyrinth.[340]

The other characteristic of the Roman labyrinth is that the labyrinth represents a city.[341] The Romans mosaic labyrinth represents a fortified city that is divided into quadrants, as Kern says, almost without exception. Pennick points out that the design of the Roman labyrinths borrowed the idea from the construction of the Roman towns.[342] Kujawa-Holbrooks says that the Roman labyrinths, "considered symbols of protection and guardianship of the sacred, labyrinths were located near important sites in cities and places of worship."[343] Kern writes that "the city/labyrinth motif appears to be a unique instance of the labyrinth's protective power." [344] Kern also says that the Roman mosaic labyrinths and other labyrinths like the Jericho labyrinths in the medieval times show that the labyrinth design evolved into a symbol of a city and affected the later designs of the labyrinths as the heavenly city of Jerusalem, as the Arab city of Constantinople, and as the ideal city of Sforzinda.[345] As Westbury writes, the labyrinths in many other cultures and religions have been viewed as a symbol for protection, especially against harmful spirits, and also viewed as a holy mountain.[346] The fortified city is a unique design originating with the Roman labyrinths

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[340] Kujawa-Holbrook, *Pilgrimage-The Sacred Art*, 118. For the history of the myth see Virginia Westbury, *Labyrinths: Ancient Paths of Wisdom and Peace*, 1st ed. (Sydney, NSW: Aurum Press, 2001), 23-25.

[341] Kern, *Through the Labyrinth*, 32, 85.

[342] Nigel Pennick, *Mazes and Labyrinths* (London: RHale, 1990), 105.

[343] Kujawa-Holbrook, *Pilgrimage-The Sacred Art*, 117.

[344] Kern, *Through the Labyrinth*, 32.

[345] Kern, *Through the Labyrinth*, 84–85.

[346] Virginia Westbury, *Labyrinth: Ancient Paths of Wisdom and Peace*, 1ed . (Sydney, NSW: Aurum Press, 2001), 35.

We already learned that the oldest Christian labyrinth is the one found in the basilica of St. Reparata. The labyrinth has *Sancta Eclesia* at its center instead of Theseus and the Minotaur. The early Church and Constantine had removed most pagan religious shrines and sculptures, but not the labyrinths of Theseus itself; they simply replaced the central figure. This could be the first corporeal prototype as a new spiritual practice of a new religion. Specifically speaking, the Jesus Prayer and Lectio Divina are the literal and verbal prototype of the new Christian spiritual practices. The veneration of the relics and the pilgrimage is a psychological prototype of the new Christian spiritual practice. This means that the labyrinths, especially the first labyrinth, inherited the Greek and Roman religious practices in a corporeal way by maintaining the same shape and design and by locating *Sancta Ecclesia* at the center. It maybe did not lose any previous meaning as a protective power and a city guarded by a sacred figure, but the physical appearance became Christian. In the case of the relics and pilgrimage, the practices had been replaced with the Christian figures, materials, buildings, and lands. This means that these practices abandoned the physical appearances of the original practices of other religions and inherited the psychological traits of other religious practices. The Jesus Prayer and Lectio Divina borrowed the literal and verbal tradition of other religious practices, changed both the form and the contents, and observed the psychological traits gradually. The new practices show that Christianity, as a new religion, had expanded its spiritual territory through creation, adoption, and transformation of the appearance, meaning, and content of its spiritual practices.

Going back to the theme of this section, the labyrinths have more meanings and stories that were friendly to Constantine and Christians. First, the labyrinths had a

meaning of death and resurrection or reincarnation.[347] Second, the bones of the Theseus

had been venerated by the Greeks as a hero, and if we accept a theory about Theseus, not

divine but a human hero who united the Athenians into one *polis* like Constantine to the

Romans.[348] Third, Theseus and Constantine shared a similar story about the death of a son

and wife.[349] And also, interestingly, the tragedy of Constantine affected the pilgrimage of

Helena.

The Romans inherited the Greek's gods and goddess. Theseus is a Greek hero

who was not born a son of a god or goddess. Theseus is a true human hero. Gruen writes

that "Adoption and incorporation of foreign deities held a long and honored in those

practices. Hellenistic influenced permeated the religious scene, and the 3rd century B.C.

witnessed some of the most prominent instances of alien cults welcomed in Rome."[350]

The reason why a Greek hero was accepted as a form of the labyrinth by the Romans, as

Walker says, should be found here: "The main function of hero worship was, then, to

legitimate the authority of the city-state and to create a sense of solidarity among their

citizens."[351] Theseus and the labyrinths of Theseus did not harm the authority of

Constantine. Rather, it would help Constantine to be seen as a hero like Theseus who

united the divided Athenians into one *polis*. It was good to know that he was a son of a

king, not of a god or goddess and maybe not even an Athenian like Romulus and

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[347] Kern, *Through the Labyrinth*, 30–31; Westbury, *Labyrinths*, 24–26.

[348] Henry J. Walker, *Theseus and Athens* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 22, 57, 87, 196.

[349] See Walker, *Theseus and Athens*, 115–17 for the Theseus's Tragedy; See Odahl, *Constantine and the Christian Empire*, 202–20 for the Constantine's Tragedy. See also Thomas De Quincey, *Historical and Critical Essays* (Boston: Ticknor, Reed and Fields, 1853), 18 for the similarity of the stories.

[350] Erich S. Gruen, *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996,), 7.

[351] Walker, *Theseus and Athens*, 9.

Remus.[352] Some meanings the labyrinths already had were familiar with Constantine and the Christians. The veneration of the bones of Theseus as a hero must have been known to the Romans and the Christians. The labyrinths of Theseus would survive with these conditions. The labyrinth should represent the Roman territory, maintain the image of protection for territory, decorate itself with the Roman mosaic, and finally embracing the Christian elements that was spreading over the Roman territory to survive in the Christian empire.

Conclusion: Walking and Territory

Pilgrimage had been practiced by the early Christians without any help from the political powers of the Roman Empire. It was already a kind of regional fashion with the tradition of the veneration of the relics of the saints and martyrs. The early Christians would build a church or shrine without the support of an aristocrat, emperor or empress if their political situation allowed. Therefore, it is important to note why Constantine and Helena ardently worked or supported the Christian fashion as the empire as this became the fashion of the whole Christendom. In an empire like the Roman Empire, there should be some politically, economically, and strategically important cities or places. The empire was too large to control and needed to divide itself into some areas for effective control. The empire had often divided its territory or its sovereign power. The Roman Empire, after Diocletian, began the Tetrarchy for some political reasons. Constantine was one of the Caesars of the Roman Empire and later became the sole emperor of the empire. What he needed was an effective method to control the cities and its vicinity. He chose Byzantium, later Constantinople, and Jerusalem as two cities that would represent the

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[352] Walker, *Theseus and Athens*, 22.

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new emperor's political ideals and the rebuilding policy for the entire empire.

Constantinople was a strategic point for military, economy and politics. Jerusalem was a

symbolic location that represented the religious and political ideology of the new emperor

of the new empire. Constantinople gradually collected more ideological materials like the

relics and other sacred things to be a more authoritative city of the empire. The emperor

did not have any reason to make Jerusalem a political city or capital in spite of its

enormous significance for Christians, for the city was a less strategic point than the city

of Rome or Constantinople. This is still partly true for the contemporary Christians.[353]

Another political reason he supported Christians with his building policy was that

the Christians had a concept of the Kingdom of God and Christ and territory that was

compatible with the empire's political ideology. Jewish people had strong attachment to

the land of Jerusalem. Their longing for the land was not just a religious hope, but a

strongly political vision. There were a couple of revolts and resistant movements among

the Jewish people to recover their land, kingdom, or temple. However, the Christians

chose to die for the heavenly kingdom. Jesus' teaching on the Kingdom was spiritual and

political enough to make his followers to die for the glory of the Christ's Kingdom. They

did not seek a land to own or occupy. Constantine would know the story of martyrs,

saints, and soldier-martyrs and be impressed by the courageous Christians. Constantine

should prefer his Christ's victorious people over the troublesome Jewish people.

Through Theborn, Gottmann, and Kantorowicz, we have read the political

meanings of Constantine's building mission. On one hand, his mission was propaganda

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[353] "Religious Pilgrimages: 14 of the World's Most Spiritual Destinations," *Huffington Post*, June 3, 2012, accessed Oct 5, 2014, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/06/03/religious-pilgrimages-spiritual-_n_1564664.html.

for promoting Christianity. On the other, it was propaganda for his territory. Its meanings are socially, politically, and psychologically significant. The labyrinth has weaker territorial and political meanings that are rather more symbolic and imaginary. The meanings are still significant in that the meanings provide the reasons for Christians to walk the labyrinth as a sacred land and territory. Territory was an important political and spiritual theme in Constantine's empire and the Christian world in his empire. This political theme has explicitly applied to the Constantine's spiritual works in his territory. Pilgrimage has a stronger political motive than any other practices we have examined. The walking practices are recognition of a sense of land and territory.

Both pilgrimages to the holy sites and walking the labyrinth have pre-Christian histories and superstitious elements in them. Nevertheless, they have been converted and practiced by Christians for over a thousand years and are still being practiced. Their uses in Christian spirituality have continued for several reasons. First, they are directly or indirectly, closely related to the Lord Jesus' life or biblical holy sites. At the center of the Christian identity is Jesus. Both the Christian belief in Jesus and the will to follow him and his life lead Christians to seek opportunities to look at and experience the places where Jesus lived as the Christ. Christians are led to the land where their identity came. This is a natural phenomenon among religious people and non-religious people, and this is why we can call some spiritual practices "a part of human consciousness."[354]

Second, Christian meanings are successfully given to the walking practices. Pilgrimage and walking the labyrinth already had abundant religious and spiritual meanings. These were not Christian at all. Christians needed to implant the Christian

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[354] Kujawa-Holbrook, *Pilgrimage-The Sacred Art*, 106.

meanings into the practices to convert and transform the practices. The primary mission was to associate them with Jesus, martyrs, saints, the church, and, for Constantine, the empire; and this was successful. Christian pilgrimage and the labyrinth reflect the efforts of Christians to pursue various ways of spiritual practices. From another perspective, it is also correct to say that the first labyrinth was a good example of symbolic absorption of the ancient culture "to help converts better understand his or her religion."[355]

Third, they were effective. The life and energy in the practices are real and effective. As the Christian Bible is real to Christians, Christians who walk on the holy places feel the historical reality of Jesus and his life. In their minds, Jesus comes alive and becomes a pilgrimage companion. The historical ambiguity or uncertainty about the holy places is not a matter of importance when the atmosphere, scents, fever, and sounds lead the walkers to the world of the biblical stories and imagination. It is not the historical certainty that makes the sites holy, but the faith of the walkers and the stories in which they are absorbed.

In the labyrinth, the walkers walk the way to Jesus and God. For some, the pathways are the way to Jerusalem or the Way of the Cross. For others, it is a way for their heart to be united with the divine. It could also be a way to become a new being or to repent. The walkers on the labyrinth may say that the pathways are as real as pilgrimage. This is not because it is an identical path to Jerusalem, but because their spiritual experience on the labyrinth is real to them.

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[355] Patrick Ruelle, "Labyrinths in the Middle Ages - St. Reparata Labyrinth," Loyola University Chicago, Medieval Studies, accessed October 5, 2014, http://www.luc.edu/medieval/index.shtml.

It is effective because it is holy. The holiness of a place is not automatically and actively recognized by the walkers. For Christians, the place is holy, in general, when it is associated with biblical stories or other sacred stories, biblical figures or other figures considered saints or venerable, and God, Jesus, or the Holy Spirit. Some places are viewed as holy without any obvious condition. A cemetery of one's devout Christian ancestor could be considered holy by his or her descendent or other Christians. A Christian could see a place that once was a church site as a holy place without any concrete relationship to any biblical story, figure, or divine being. These places, however, are not universally accepted as a holy place. Sites for pilgrimage contain at least one of the conditions listed above. The sites are holy because of the conditions people conceive. The labyrinth was not holy at first for Christians. It needed to meet certain conditions to be accepted as a tool for a spiritual practice. Through the process of adoption, Christians created a new way of spiritual practice in their tradition. Now it preserves many Christian meanings in it and by others. Other spiritual practices such as praying with an icon, praying with a rosary, and so on had pagan origins, but are now popular in some congregations after a certain process of adoption.

These processes of adoption were necessary for a religion that was young and in its very initial stages. Christianity had nothing but Jesus, his followers, and the Bible. Jesus did not teach his disciples how to conduct a spiritual practice. He did not give any details for Christians' spiritual practices. It could mean that Jesus did not distinguish the spiritual practice from the whole spiritual life. Because Jesus did not give any details, Christian churches needed resources. The resources were taken from its root source, Judaism, and from Roman or Hellenistic neighbors, and from other pagan religions and

cultures. The resources from outside Christianity were actually not outside. They were

already there as raw materials waiting to be processed. Christianity is not the only

religion that went through this process. Buddhism was influenced by Hinduism and many

other Hindu or Asian religions. Judaism has accepted some religious and cultural

elements from ancient Egyptian and Palestine religions. Most religions have been

interactive and filled with abundant religious and spiritual constituents.

Some spiritual practices and raw materials are accepted by religious groups, and

some are rejected. There are few reasons for acceptance or rejection from a Christian

perspective. First, the practice is expected to strengthen the Christian identity of the

practitioners. Identity is here a comprehensive term that includes faith, spirituality, sense

of belonging, familiarity with Christian culture and Christian social norm, ability to

assimilate to Christian world, and so on. Each congregation decides which practice is

good or bad for their members' identity. In ancient Christianity, it was the leaders of the

church. They were theologians, bishops, spiritual leaders, monks, or famous Christians.

Interestingly, these were mostly from upper class families. This might have meant that

they were well educated and equipped with the latest scholarship in various academic

contexts.

The early Christian church pursued unity in terms of theological issues and

organizational matters, although Christian spirituality of that time was necessarily

affected by these leaders' different understandings about various theological issues and

spiritual practices. To be a "One Church" is to have a shared identity for unity. To be

"One Church" is to make governance easy on its members and secular world. Therefore,

one may say that Christian spiritual identity is not autonomous, but given and cultivated

according to the norms encouraged by the church and its leaders since the first church was built.

Second, the practices should not harm the church's governance over its members and the secular world. If a spiritual practice produces physical or psychological pain for the practitioners' body through whipping and torturing one's body or others', the practice would not be accepted by most Christian congregations. Although a spiritual tradition that produces pain has been practiced by various individuals and groups and was rooted in some biblical and theological basis, this kind of practice is beginning to lose its popularity. Violence against one's body or others' is considered abnormal or illegal, much more now than before. If Christian churches encourage this kind of pain-producing practice, their social and political power would be attacked by outsiders. The Christian churches adopt and conduct spiritual practices that are safe and normal, that is, non-troublesome. Also, if the church asks its members to torture their bodies for a spiritual reason, the church's governance over its members will weaken. Although some religious groups and traditions still have these kinds of practices, they have never been accepted as practices for all. The Christian church cannot ignore social ethics and consciousness, even in dealing with spiritual matters, to maintain its governance. Pilgrimage has had problems related to pain, danger, expense, responsibility for the left families, morality, and so on. These matters sometimes brought controversies. However, pilgrimage has been considered good for one's spiritual life and for strengthening the unity and identity of the church.

Third, spiritual practices should produce a common experience or experiential knowledge that is in accord with the history, tradition, experience, doctrine, organization

or system, law, biblical teachings, and the Church's relationship with the secular world of that generation. This is very meaningful for the member's identity and the church's unity and governance. With the given meanings and contents, the practices should generate aimed experiences. Through the practices, one would have a spiritual experience. The spiritual experience should not be overly different from other members. If a practice gives intensive hallucinatory or illusory effect to its practitioners and produces "unusual" experiences, this practice would not be encouraged by leaders. If some practitioners of a spiritual practice stand against their leaders or organization arguing for the authenticity of their special experience, they and their practices will be charged with heresy. Spiritual practices and experiences are the things to be governed.

The conclusion, for this chapter on pilgrimage and labyrinth, we can make through our political lens is as follows:

Ideal City, Citizen, Ideology, and End and Means

Constantine's empire wanted to be a Christian empire. The one of the empire's first missions was to show what the empire would be like in the future. The building policy was the actualization of Constantine's proclamation of Christian empire. It was first the idea of the ruler, and later, the ideas of the ruling class. It also resulted in changes within its social and religious systems, regime's political philosophy, reasons for political action, and eventually, the existing systems of power. In sum, the building mission was an ideological action. Jerusalem, Constantinople, and other cities, towns, and places represented the ideal empire that Constantine dreamed of. The citizens of the new empire were required to practice pilgrimage so that they could observe the glorious victory of

Jesus and his followers and the great political and spiritual achievements of the emperor and his empire. Pilgrimage is a spiritual practice of ideal citizens in the ideal empire. In particular, a long distance pilgrimage was practiced in the empire and encouraged by the ideology of the empire. The building policy and pilgrimage were means to the ideological ends of the empire.

The labyrinths represented an ideal city of ideal citizens. As Constantine wanted to be the sole emperor of the empire, the protagonist in the story of the labyrinth, who united the Greek cities, should be equated with the emperor. The fortified city in the labyrinths should represent the city of Rome. Now the holy church is at the center of the labyrinths. This should be understood as the ideological agreement of the Church to the empire. If Constantine added Christianity to his governing principles, there should be an agreement from the public to strengthen the emperor's ideology. The first body of the public was Christians. Politically speaking, pilgrimage and labyrinth were the results of Constantine's ideological political action and the response of the Christians to his political actions.

Government: Policy, Law, and Legitimacy

The building policy of Constantine affected the fashion of the great pilgrimage as Christian spiritual practices. The Constantine's building policy reflected the empire's ideology. Also, the policy represented the overall Christian policy and Christian law of Constantine and his empire while strengthening the Christian legitimacy of the empire. The overall policies of Constantine and his empire made every Christian value and tradition somewhat legitimate. Constantine helped the Church to have legitimate faith

through standardization and canonization. The legalization of faith could only be actualized through and for the legitimacy of the empire and of the Church. Building of the basilicas, churches, holy sites, and holy cities were the best means to propagate the overall Christian policies and laws of the empire. The building policy was the visualization of the Roman Christian policy, and the practice of pilgrimage could be seen as the most outspoken agreement with the policy, law, and legitimacy of the empire.

Economy: Labor, Property, Distribution and Resource

Building mission in a sense meant an appropriation of the property of the empire to build the new Christian empire. It was the first proclamation of the new empire that the priority in the distribution of the public property and resource would be given to one single religious body, the Christian Church. The basilicas, shrines, and churches were dedicated to saints, Jesus, and God. It was religious devotion to the heroes and God. On the other hand, the Church began to hold private property from this time on. The building policy and the money and resource of the empire gave an economic infrastructure to the Church. House-churches did not have any economic value, but the great basilicas, churches, and famous shrines did.

The building policy and the support of Christian traditions like the veneration of the relics of the saints consumed a huge amount of money and resources. In the time of Constantine, this policy could play an economic function in the distribution of the wealth of the empire, first by hiring construction workers and second by buying construction materials. Pilgrimage soon became big business in the Christian world, especially in Europe. Pilgrims needed transportation, lodging, food, guards, and a guide or guidebook.

Monasteries between holy sites became stations for Christian pilgrims. New restaurants, shops, hotels, and shelters were built to draw pilgrims. Intended or not, his policy created a new fashion and business in the Christian world.

The labyrinth is relatively free from these types of economic issues. If pilgrimage has the most explicit economic nature, the labyrinth has the least. In many cases, the Christian labyrinth did not need money or resources from the market. One just needed a little knowledge and skill to create it. When its size grew and it became associated with other holy sites like Jerusalem or the Way to the Cross, some labyrinths earned more economic value. In general, the labyrinth could not earn much fame because of the lack of Christian meaning and story.

Territory: Location, Conflict, and Warfare

Pilgrimage was the spiritual practice of the empire in the territory of the empire. The holy empire and the holy sites should not be two different territories. The territory, both the empire and the holy sites, as *patria* which the soul desired to join, should provide identity, tradition, strategy of action for the aims and well-being of the people who occupy it. The practice of pilgrimage was motivated by and for these reasons.

The Constantine's building policy was intentional imperial work for the Christian empire and the Church. The holy sites were rediscovered, renovated, and celebrated. The holy relics were excavated, protected, and preserved. The empire successfully incorporated the holy lands of the Christians into the holy territory of the empire through this process. The empire achieved territorial unity and order within the new Christian empire as well as spiritual unity and order for the citizens through this process.

Location was a significant matter. The holy sites could not be altered. The life of
Jesus in the holy land of Jerusalem and vicinity should be observed. The holy city of
Rome associated with the stories of Christian heroes must be venerated. The combination
of the cities and heroes provided the political and spiritual importance of location to the
empire. Monastic Christians chose another location for political and spiritual reasons.
They wanted to free themselves from the politics and distractions of the empire. Once the
location of the monastic Christians earned a spiritual centrality, the Church and empire
recognized the power of location for the monastic movements. The two different
locations of the empire and the monastic Christians were integrated for reciprocal reasons.

Self-preservation and the well-being of the Christian citizens were essential
matters in this political and spiritual territory. Spiritual warfare had been performed by
new heroes. The more the spiritual warfare became victorious, the more the territory had
been realized as land to protect. More Christians walked the holy territory, and the holy
territory represented the Kingdom of Heaven. The building policy and the practice of
pilgrimage increased the level of security.

The Labyrinth represented a weak territorial meaning. It depicted the city of
Rome or the territory of the Roman Empire. However, this weak territorial meaning soon
changed to a strong spiritual meaning. Some locations, like Jerusalem or Jericho, had
been integrated, but the labyrinth was largely considered a place for spiritual practice or
entertainment rather than a holy place. Internal spiritual warfare would be one theme in
walking the labyrinth. It is assumed that Christians walked the labyrinth during the eras
of the Crusades. Seeking internal peace and spiritual experience and wisdom would have

been essential goals. Walking the labyrinth reflected a borderless pilgrimage beyond the restriction of territory and location.

Public Support, Freedom, and Rights

Through the building policy that promoted Christianity and Christian pilgrimage, Constantine won the support of the new Christian citizens. Constantine's religious policies for Christianity already converted many non-Christians to Christianity. Constantine's conversion was the conversion of the citizens and vice versa. The support of old and new Christians provided a motive of power to the empire to convert other places to be more like Constantinople, to be more politically and spiritually strategic while converting policies to Christianity-friendly policies. This created opportunities for Christians to form a new powerful social class in the empire.

Freedom and rights are the two conditions required to practice pilgrimage in empire. Pilgrimage meant the practice of one's freedom and rights as a citizen of the empire. These freedoms and rights were both spiritual and political. These freedoms and rights were given and protected by the power of the empire. From the local holy sites to the great holy cities, Christian citizens walked and enjoyed their freedoms and rights.

Labyrinth did not require freedom or rights. Labyrinth itself meant freedom and rights to one's spirit, body, and territory. A palm-size labyrinth was enough for one's spiritual practice. Any material could make the labyrinth. It was a small maze that gave no harm to the empire. Drawing and walking the labyrinth was not an essential practice of the Church or Christians. With just little caution and Christian meaning, any Christian

could walk and pray with the labyrinth. The labyrinth had a kind of extraterritoriality because it did not appropriate any territory from the empire.

With all our studies in this chapter and the two previous chapters, we will talk about the present and future of our Christian spirituality and spiritual practices. The four popular practices will again be examined in our current political contexts. The meaning of contemplative life and political life will be discussed within the realm of the Christian spiritual life.

CHAPTER 4

Globalization, Christian Spirituality, and the Four Popular Spiritual Practices

Being multi-dimensional, the process of globalization represents a complex

economic, political, cultural, technological, and, eventually, historical process which

involves "the widening, deepening, speeding up and growing impact of worldwide

interconnectedness."[356] This definition does not fully show the complexity of the process

of globalization. We will explore the interconnectedness of economy, politics, culture,

technology, and history in the process of globalization to understand the process of

globalization. We will study the ethical matters of globalization and Christian spirituality

and globalization in the following sections to gain a deeper understanding of the

relationship between Christian spirituality and globalization.

A Short Story about Globalization and the Big Writers of Globalization

To explore the relationship between Christian spirituality and globalization, we

need to see how scholars have understood the historical process of globalization. For a

very short study of globalization, let us start from the time of Aquinas, Dante and

Marsilius whom we studied in the first chapter. His time space was geographically,

politically, and economically significant for our study. There were different types of

political powers in the medieval Christian West, and the types of powers can be classified

into four categories: local, national, supranational, and inter-national. Feudal lords were

the typical form of local power. Kings and queens and their kingdoms allied with feudal

lords were the predominating form of national power. The allied kingdoms became the

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[356] John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens, *The Globalization of World Politics : An Introduction to International Relations*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 15.

inter-national power. The supranational power was Christianity. In *Territory, Authority, and Rights*, Sassen showed how medieval towns through the 13th and 14th century became sites for novel political and legal cultures that thickened and institutionalized the urban territorial regime.[357] It was primarily possible because of the growth of trade between towns and countries. The feudal lords and burghers benefited by becoming both became rich and powerful. They had their own laws and systems that often were highly independent of the kings' law. Even the kings could not ignore the political power of the feudal lords and the economic significance of the towns. For national events like wars, kings often borrowed money from the feudal lords. The armies of the feudal lords were greater than those of the kings in terms of their military skills and numbers.

The sovereignty, however, wanted to have political power independent from the Church and absolute central power against the local political power. According to Sassen, the transition from the feudal economy to the more expanded national and international market centered on one core factor which enabled the sovereignty to achieve independent central power. The ocean was a political and economic ground for kings, but not for the feudal lords. In the 16th century, pillage across the oceans was accelerated by royalty. Just as trade became longer and faster due to the developing navigation skills, pillage of kingdoms across the ocean became greater and bolder. According to Sassen and Mignolo, from 1521 to 1660, a single European country, Spain, took a thousand tons of silver and a hundred tons of gold from America, from "mostly Mexico, Peru, and to a lesser degree the Caribbean islands."[358] The 16th century was a time where the wealth of the ruler was

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[357] Sassen, *Territory, Authority, Rights*.
[358] Sassen, *Territory, Authority, Rights*, 83; Walter Mignolo, *Local Histories/Gglobal Designs : Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 57.

emphasized. By this time, the wealth of the kings and republics was supported by thinkers and politicians like Machiavelli arguing "that in a well-organized republic that the state should be rich and the citizen poor."[359] Ironically, according to Sassen, the 16th century was the time for the initiation of capitalism that later, from the 17th century on, helped the bourgeoisies develop political and economic influence.[360]

Mignolo wrote during the 16th century that the Americas were considered lands of Japheth while the Orient was viewed as the land of Shem, and Africa as the land of Ham.[361] The West inserted the Americas into their territory as a European extension. During the climax and end of the "Christian Mission" of the 16th and 17th century, the West found its new mission in "civilizing" in the Americas. From this time on, many regions and countries in Asia, Africa, and the Americas were colonized by many European countries like Spain, Portugal, Netherland, France, England, Germany, Italy, and so on.[362] The European countries accumulated great wealth from this period which lasted into the early 20th century by colonizing and pillaging others. The Europeans killed native people, culture, language, thoughts, and nature and endowed colonialist, dependency, and the fate of Homo Sacer.

The dawn of globalization was coming through the wealth the West accumulated and the political and economic desires of the powers during the 17th to 19th century. At the end of the 17th century, the first commercial steam pump was invented by an English man. In the middle of the 18th century, a Scottish inventor improved the Newcomen

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[359] Sassen, *Territory, Authority, Rights*, 84.
[360] Sassen, *Territory, Authority, Rights,*,84–85.
[361] Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs*, 58–59.
[362] Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs*, 55–58.

steam engine and brought industrial changes in his country and the world. Various

individuals and groups benefited from the economic changes and became political

powers in European countries. The kings had to pass their hegemony to the bourgeoisies.

It was during this time that the American Declaration of Independence was adopted. The

final version was first written by Thomas Jefferson and adopted by the Continental

Congress on July 4th, 1776. The French National Assembly in 1789, in the midst the

French Revolution, issued a Declaration of Rights of Man and of the Citizen. Marquise

de Lafayette, a French aristocrat and general who participated in the American

Revolutionary War was the primary author. In this document, rights were for the first

time described as "human rights," and understood to be "natural, imprescriptible, and

inalienable."[363] In 1804, inspired by the French Revolution, Haiti proclaimed its

independence after a decade of struggle against Spain, England, and France. Haiti's

revolution was different from the previous two revolutions in that the subjects of the

Haitian revolution were not the bourgeoisies, but the black people enslaved by the

bourgeoisies and the kings.

From the beginning of the First World War to the end of the Second World War,

various political bodies engaged in the wars for various reasons. The First World War

was still a European war; the participating countries were mostly European countries. It

was still a World War because of the global impact of the war. During and after the First

World War, the political globalization was clearly exposed in world politics. After the

First World War, the League of Nations was founded. Other international organizations

and gatherings like ILO, IHO, Geneva Conventions, and Hague Conferences were

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[363] Edmundson, *An Introduction to Rights*, 39.

created or developed into more international organizations and gatherings. After the

Second World War, global organizations like the UN, the IMF, the World Bank, the

IBRD, and others were founded. These organizations became the main global political

and economic bodies that direct and accelerate globalization. Globalization is not a

process that began at a particular moment in world history. It has a complex history with

many driving forces, factors, and participants. The stronger forces and participants affect

globalization more than the weaker. The organizations are not free from the power

politics between nations.

Stiglitz thought that we needed to look at the three institutions that govern

globalization to understand the negative effects of globalization: the IMF, the World

Bank (the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, IBRD), and the

WTO.[364] All three institutions are economic organizations with distinctive goals for the

global economy. The IMF aims "to provide the global public good of financial

stability."[365] The IBRD aims to reduce poverty in middle-income countries and

creditworthy poorer countries by promoting sustainable development.[366] According to its

mission statement, the WTO provides a forum for negotiating agreements aimed at

reducing obstacles to international trade and ensuring a level playing field for all, thus

contributing to economic growth and development.[367] Stiglitz believed that the IMF now

[364] Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2003), 10.

[365] International Monetary Fund, "About the IMF: Overview: What We Do," accessed October 8, 2014, http://www.imf.org/external/about/whatwedo.htm.

[366] International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, "IBRD," accessed October 8, 2014, http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/EXTIBRD/0,,menuPK:3046081~pageP K:64168427~piPK:64168435~theSitePK:3046012,00.html.

[367]World Trade Orgazation, "WTO | What Is the WTO? - About the WTO – A Statement by Former Director-General Pascal Lamy," accessed October 8, 2014, http://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/wto_dg_stat_e.htm.

championed market supremacy and took an imperialistic stance about the financial

matters of developing countries or poor countries. Today it typically provides funds only

if the countries engage in policies like cutting deficits, raising taxes, or raising interest

rates.[368] He thought that the IMF failed in promoting global stability and made matters

worse, especially for the poor.[369] Peter Singer, in *One World*, introduced four charges

commonly made against the WTO.[370] First, the WTO places economic consideration

ahead of concerns for the environment, animal welfare, and even human rights. Second,

the WTO erodes national sovereignty. Third, it is undemocratic. Fourth, it increases

inequality. He thought that the charges were correct except the fourth one. The fourth

charge, for him, cannot be proved yet due to the lack of the available evidence.[371]

Globalization and the international institutions like the IMF, the World Bank, and

the WTO do not only bring negative results, but also positive ones. The institutions

actually enabled free trade between countries and somewhat reduced the economic

inequality between the countries, somewhat stabilized the economies in certain countries

like Thailand, Indonesia, and South Korea, and helped developing countries to expand

their economies and to grow in the agricultural, industrial, or technological business. We

cannot deny that the international institutions worked hard for the local or global

economic matters.

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[368] Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents*, 13.
[369] Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents*, 15.
[370] Peter Singer, *One World: The Ethics of Globalization* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 55–91.
[371] Singer, *One World,* 90–91.

Globalization Matters

Globalization is a matter of life for individuals, societies, and to the environment. According the scholars, globalization has caused many problems. The problems are devaluating the human life and dignity, e.g., unemployment, refugees, labor environment and law, human rights, torture, and so on, as Bauman, Huntington, Singer, and Mignolo described, economic inequality, e.g., poverty, hunger, health, education, unfair international policies on trade, unbalanced development and distribution, etc., as Stiglitz, Huntington, and Singer wrote, political conflicts, e.g., war, terrorism, imperialistic policies on international political matters, un-democratic systems, as Huntington, Stiglitz, Negri, Hardt, and Singer explained, cultural conflicts, e.g., religious and cultural imperialism, cultural toadyism, racism, sexism, the dominating role of the Western knowledge and language, etc., as Mignolo, Singer, and Kung analyzed, and environmental problems as Singer examined. In short, the process of globalization has affected almost all aspects of human life and the nature.

For individuals, the matters of globalization are not only matters of money, employment, life, and rights, but also matters of mind, emotion, family, identity, and fate. The explicit individual matters of globalization could be unemployment, labor environment, poverty, hunger, health, education, race, sex, language, religion and the environment. These matters affect the human body and spirit, either positively or negatively. However, we tend to emphasize the physical matters more than emotional and spiritual matters when studying globalization. Globalization engages in the individual problems in a way or another, or intentionally or unintentionally. The destroyed minds of the individuals are one of the unvoiced agonies of globalization.

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For societies, the problems of globalization are about the public issues, e.g., the national affairs and conflicts, national poverty and hunger, international relations and institutions, cultures, religions, (unfair) laws and policies, distribution of benefits and food, unbalanced development, unbalance of power, wars, and natural environment. These matters, of course, affect individuals. However, these problems are often handled on a national or international level rather than on an individual level. Through studying the problems of societies, it is possible for us to name the perpetrators in the global ethical problems. For example, unemployment is both an individual and a social matter. If we say that the perpetrator of the unemployment is a government or a company, this is only partly correct. National markets are now influenced by many international factors like the U.S. stock market or other countries', international trade policies, global economic stability or instability, global political changes, technological advancement, and so on. The problems of unemployment are now, in many cases, a matter of globalization. The more we understand the global economy and politics and relations between nations and organizations, the more we comprehend the multi-dimensional matters of globalization.

In *Wasted Lives*, Bauman, quoted Hauke Brunkhorst, saying that, "The production of superfluous bodies, which are no longer required for work, is a direct consequence of globalization."[372] Unemployed people are at the bottom of our economic caste system. He or she is considered as a person who does not have proper capability or who does not fit in our economic system. Unemployment is now a situation we accept as a natural phenomenon or unavoidable. This means that we now have a new culture and

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[372] Zygmunt Bauman, *Wasted Lives : Modernity and Its Outcasts* (Oxford: Polity, 2004), 41.

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society which resulted from economic globalization. In the same book, Bauman pointed out that we are consumers in a consumer's society.[373] In this society, humans are required to be recycled into consumables, but the consumables are not the humans who inspire themselves for roots, kinship, friendship, and love.[374] This is because we focus on disposability between the useful and the waste in this society.

Economic globalization is a real issue for social and cultural matters. Socio-cultural globalization earns its driving power from economic globalization and technological advancements. On the other hand, economic globalization can be supported by socio-cultural globalization. As in the case of Samsung and Apple's smart-phones, an innovative idea and device can create a social and cultural global impact. When this impact grows, the consumers in the global consumer's society would want a smaller market which can provide new products faster. Economic globalization may exploit laborers in Asia, Africa, or South America to make this happen. As consumers, we would never know what happened to our global neighbors when we asked for a smaller, faster, and cheaper market.

A nation's poverty, or other matters, can now be understood from a global perspective. Some who advocate economic globalization and the globalizing market believe that the world economic market will benefit all who participate in the globalization of the market. This could be an unrealistic hope. The UN Human Development Report 2000 shows that the income gap between the richest and poorest

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[373] Bauman, *Wasted Lives*, 123.
[374] Bauman, *Wasted Lives*, 130–31.

countries has been dramatically diverged from 1973 to 1995.[375] The income ratio

changed from 44:1 to 72:1. It was 3:1 in 1820 and 35:1 in 1950. The top 20 richest

people's wealth increased from$1,042 billion in 1998 to $1,135 billion in 1999. The top

20 made $93 billion for one year. For the same period, the total income of 582 million

people in all the least developed countries was $146 billion.[376] The report says that

"Smaller, low-income countries are marginalized from the competitive global

economy."[377] The most recent report of 2014 shows that 1.2 billion people live on less

than $1.25 per day. About 50 percent of global citizens live on less than $2.5 per day.[378]

The wealth of the 3.5 billion poorest is the same as that of the richest 85 people, and

income inequality in developing countries increased 11 percent between 1990 and 2010.

If we think poverty is only a matter of money and income, we do not fully

understand the problems resulting from poverty in the international conflicts and the

problems of globalization. For instance, North Korea is one of the poorest countries in the

world. The North Korean government is the primary political entity responsible for its

poverty. The North Korean leaders were incompetent and reclusive. They refused and

resisted the westernized manner of economic growth or actually any economic model

since Kim Jung Il. All of their efforts for economic growth already seem to have failed.

However, their incompetence and closed market are not the only reasons for their

poverty. The U.S. policy against North Korea is another big factor that perpetuates the

poverty in North Korea. The U.S. government has quarantined North Korea from the

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[375] United Nations, "Human Development Report 2000," 6, accessed October 20, 2014, http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-report-2000.
[376] United Nations, "Human Development Report 2000," 82.
[377] United Nations, "Human Development Report 2000," 83.
[378] United Nations, "Human Development Report 2014," 19, accessed October 20, 2014, http://hdr.undp.org/en/2014-report/download.

world. China's economic activity in North Korea also greatly affects the economy of North Korea. China buys enormous amounts of natural resources from North Korea with a little money. North Korea loses natural resources and earns little. This perpetrates a terrible economic future. The globalization of the world market and the development of technology are two other things preventing North Korea from developing its economy through its own principles and policies. The world market is not a world market in a sense. It is the markets of the richest countries making a bigger profit while the markets of poor countries provide the bigger profit to the rich countries. It is obvious that North Korea does not have advanced technology or the capability for economic resistance to the global economy and will face great difficulty making profits in any economic field. The poverty in North Korea contributes to the North Korean sufferings, e.g., the lack of food, medical treatment, education, and shelter, and various violations of human rights, and so on.

Damage to our natural environment is one great problem that globalization brought us. Each nation-state or country has limited territory, territorial skies, and territorial waters. This means that the countries have limited duties and responsibilities for their territories. With global environmental pollution and destruction, this territorial division becomes meaningless. The environmental pollution and destruction is caused by many countries, many international and local companies, and many individuals. Moreover, the international lands, skies, waters, and outer space being shared by all countries and global neighbors are also sites where pollution and destruction are being processed. The destruction of the global environment threatens all. The inventors of motor vehicles never intended to bring these results, but the globalization of the

technology and trade eventually created it. The developed technologies in stockbreeding gave us enough meat, and, at the same time, created pollution.

While there are many scholars who talk about the effects of globalization, there are scholars who are examining the reality and myth of the economic globalization. In *Globalization in Question*, first published in 1996, Hirst and Thompson saw economic globalization as a myth. They supported this claim with five conclusions.[379] First, the present international economy is not unique in history. They thought that the present international economy was less open or interconnected than the one between 1870 and 1914. Second, genuinely transitional companies are relatively rare. They believed that most companies are national companies trading internationally and that there is no trend towards the development of international companies. Third, there has been no shift of finance and capital from the developed to the underdeveloped worlds. Direct investment is highly concentrated among the countries of the developed world. Fourth, the world economy is not global. Rather, trade, investment, and financial flows are concentrated in and between three blocs: Europe, North America, and Japan. Fifth, these three blocs could regulate global economic markets and forces if they coordinated policies. Hirst and Thompson, based on their five conclusions, believed that each country could develop policies to protect and control the national economy against the international economy. The national economy need not to obey the global market. Hirst and Thompson acknowledged the growing interdependence and interconnectedness between states but maintained that each state is still the main actor of their national economy and in the

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[379] Paul Q. Hirst and Grahame Thompson, *Globalization in Question : The International Economy and the Possibilities of Governance* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1996), 2–3.

inter-national economy. They also accepted the inequality between the rich and poor

countries and admitted the need of "balanced redistribution of world resources."[380]

Hirst and Thompson focused on the economic aspects of globalization and wanted

to argue against the hyper-globalizers like Ohmae, Wriston, and Guehenno who claimed

that "globalization defines a new epoch of human history in which traditional nation-

states have become unnatural, even impossible business units in a global economy."[381]

They thought that many scholars exaggerate or overly emphasize the impact of economic

globalization.

In his book *Global Shift*, first published 1986, Peter Dicken observed what Hirst

and Thompson described as the first conclusion while holding a totally different position

about globalization per se. He emphasized that "the world economy is a qualitatively

different place from that of 60 or 70 years ago; although, it is not so much more open as

increasingly interconnected in rather different ways."[382] For Dicken, however, the basic

difference between the economic world before 1914 and the current world is the quality

of integration. The former had "shallow integration" with short distance trade and simple

direct investment, and the latter has "deep integration, organized primarily within and

between geographically extensive and complex global production networks."[383] For

Dicken, however, what is more important is not geographical spread, but the qualitative

transformation of economic relationship. Giddens, in *The Consequences of Modernity*,

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[380] Hirst and Thompson, *Globalization in Question*, 72.
[381] David Held, *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 3.
[382] Peter Dicken, *Global Shift : Mapping the Changing Contours of the World Economy*, 6th ed. (New York: Guilford Press, 2011), 6.
[383] Dicken, *Global Shift*, 7.

published in 1990, emphasized the social relational changes including the changes of our use of time and space in post-modern life and system through globalization.[384] Just a year before Giddens' book, published a year after Giddens' lecture at Stanford in 1988, Harvey in *The Condition of Post-Modernity* understood globalization as time and space compression.[385] Many other scholars have understood globalization in different ways accepting the important, but decreased in a sense, the role of nation-states, the quantitatively globalized world in the past, and the importance of the local or regional aspects of international trade. Hirst and Thompson's arguments gave us a chance to think about the role of nation-states, the limited power of international or global companies, and the regional shapes of global economic.

Boron's book *Empire and Imperialism,* published in 2005, examined similar matters while critically challenging Hardt and Negri's *Empire*. First, Boron thought that imperialism, that is, an empire, a nation, a state, or a group of countries, still held territorialized and centered power.[386] In the example of the Iraq War, Boron saw the dominant class' interests of the U.S as an example of this power transformed into the national interest. As a state, the U.S. will never give up political and military power to maintain their hegemony. The power of the U.S. is not given by any other countries like Mexico, Argentina, or Brazil, but by exploiting them. The wealth and military power of the U.S. is the source of its power. Other countries do have the same power source in the global and international field of politics and economy. Second, Boron believed that the

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[384] Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 1990).

[385] David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity : An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989).

[386] Atilio Borón, *Empire and Imperialism : A Critical Reading of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri* (London: Zed Books, 2005), 6–18.

global and transnational companies are not truly global.[387] Their property and ownership

have a strong national base. 200 global companies have headquarters in only 8 cities, are

being helped by their states' policies, and pay taxes to their states. In addition, Boron

criticized Hardt and Negri for their exaggeration of the role of UN and international law,

understanding of the origin of the empire, the nature of the empire, and all concepts and

sentences that are not clearly explained or not critically examined. Here we need to

understand that Boron did not intend to support Hirst and Thompson's arguments. What

Boron wanted to retouch was Hardt and Negri's analysis of empire and imperialism.

Other important debates we need to study are about more practical matters.

Poverty is a concern of scholars when studying the impact of globalization. One group

thinks that globalization will eventually bring benefits to the global economy. The other

group thinks that globalization perpetuates poverty in various ways. Caroline Thomas in

'Poverty, development, and hunger' in *The Globalization of World Politics* introduces

two different views on poverty.[388] From the orthodox view, "the money to buy food and

satisfy other basic material needs" is a core element. Therefore, the keys words to

understand poverty from this view point are economic condition, cash, development,

employment, and economic growth. The alternative views, on the contrary, emphasize

"spiritual values, community ties, and availability of common resources."[389] Stiglitz in

Globalization and Its Discontents said, "Globalization today is not working for many of

the world's poor."[390] He admitted that East Asia's economic development was based on

globalization, and it brought better health, democracy, and greater social justice. In other

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[387] Borón, *Empire and Imperialism*, 46.
[388] Baylis, Smith, and Owens, *Globalization of World Politics*, 471–73.
[389] Baylis, Smith, and Owens, *Globalization of World Politics*, 472.
[390] Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents*, 214.

regions of the world like sub-Saharan African and Latin America, and in some parts of

East Asia, globalization is the perpetuator of poverty. Singer, in *One World*, wrote that it

is commonly said that inequality between the world's richest and poorest countries has

increased during the period in which world trade has increased.[391] Singer said that we

need to see the decrease or increase of income gap between two groups, the lack of

education, malnutrition, infant mortality, life expectancy, the poor condition of sanitation,

and other elements in the poorest countries. Many scholars like Bauman, Miguez and et

al, and Huntington saw economic inequality in the international trade policies, some

forms of the devaluation of human dignity, the loss of national security, and military

conflicts as the by-products of globalization that affect the degree of poverty.

Other people who have different views consider poverty to be the result of not

fully engaging in globalization. They believe that if the poor countries opened their

economies and markets and import products and technologies, the poor countries would

eventually experience growth of their economy. Alan Greenspan, the former Chairman of

the US Federal Reserve Board, said that "the extraordinary changes in global finance

have been beneficial in facilitating significant improvements in economic structures and

living standards throughout the world..."[392] Peter Sutherland, the former non-executive

Chairman of British Petroleum, said "globalization's effects have been overwhelmingly

good...a wave of productivity and efficiency, and creating millions of jobs."[393] They

(including David Dollar of World Bank and Alan Winters of the University of Sussex)

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[391] Singer, *One World*, 81.

[392] Manfred B. Steger, *Globalization : A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 104.

[393] Steger, *Globalization*, 104.

believe that the poor countries can overcome poverty through the liberalization of market, free trade, competition, and entrepreneurial spirit.

Other important debates are about terrorism and security, human rights and military intervention, gender, immigration, culture, environment, and democracy. We cannot study all of these in this short study. What we might want to say in this dissertation about these debates and matters is that they are not just a matter of the political and economic world. The interaction between nations and the global effects of political and economic activities of the nations are real and influential. We saw that there are negative effects of globalization. These effects are political, economic, environmental, human dignity-related, and spiritual. Economic globalization is not a myth to us when we think of its impact on us, our life, our people, and our living places. Our question in the globalizing world would be about whether Christian spirituality can say something about the effects of globalization. The debate about globalization provides Christian spirituality with some existential questions. Christian spirituality must answer the many questions brought about globalization.

Christianity, Politics, and Globalization

One of the significant traits of our globalizing world is the resurgence of religions. This is a phenomenon that scholars hardly expected. After the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and the following development of philosophy, science, and economy, the

Christian culture in Europe had been declining gradually, sometimes radically; Toft and

et al wrote that it took three centuries for God to come back to the field of politics.[394]

Many philosophers, thinkers, and scholars believed that Christianity and religions

would lose its power and influence sooner or later. The thinkers we studied in the first

chapter like Grotius, Hobbes, and Locke, as political secularist, tried to undermine the

power and influence of the Church in politics and public life. We read Marsilius and

Dante to separate Christianity from politics. Their main target was the papal power over

the monarchy. They did not deny Christianity itself, at least seemingly. According to Toft

and et al, after Rousseau's *Social Contract* in 1762 and the French Revolution in 1789,

Rousseau and his Jacobin friends "openly identified the church and Christianity as

implacably hostile to any free and flourishing republic."[395] They wanted to replace the

monarchy and the Catholic Church with another secular system, thought, and culture.[396]

The Catholic Church had left a bad impression on the European intellectuals by

integrating with the monarchies and accumulating enormous wealth. The Catholic

Church kept fighting for its political hegemony and influence over the public life. Many

medieval wars in Europe were religious wars that the Catholic Church directly or

indirectly was involved. Regarding all negative impressions, it would be right to say that

war and oppression are other names of Christianity in Europe.[397] Most importantly, as

Micklethwait and Wooldridge write, "the established churches" were considered the

friends and tools of the old regime and the enemies of the new world of liberty and

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[394] Monica Duffy Toft, Daniel Philpott, and Timothy Samuel Shah, *God's Century : Resurgent Religion and Global Politics* (New York: WWNorton, 2011), 10.

[395] Toft, Philpott, and Shah, *God's Century*, 65.

[396] Toft, Philpott, and Shah, *God's Century*, 2.

[397] John Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge, *God Is Back : How the Global Revival of Faith Is Changing the World* (New York: Penguin Press, 2009), 9.

democracy.[398] Therborn writes, by this token, that "In the internal conflicts of Europe the established Christian churches, Protestant as well as Catholic and Orthodox, were on the losing side of anti-modern tradition." Voltaire, 18th century writer, said in his letter to his friend Frederick the Great that Christianity would disappear in the next fifty years.[399] It seemed that Christianity was radically losing its power and influence, but it had survived for another decades. Marx, Durkheim, Weber, Nietzsche, and Darwin's thoughts or findings promoted the hope, or despair, for the end of the age of Christianity. Christianity, however, has come back to its place with new theologies, new spiritualities, and new ideologies.

The descendants of the Enlightenment believed in human reason and goodness.[400] The achievements of human reason were astounding. Steam engine, car, train, airplane, vaccine, radio, telegraphy, telephone, television, and dynamite had been invented from 18th century to the early 20th century. When the activities of human reason were at its peak for the entire human history, two world wars broke out and killed millions of people. Their belief in human goodness, and consequently human reason, was shattered for several decades.

The common reasons scholars unfold for the resurgence of religions including Christianity are, in sum, the movements for democracy, peace, justice, and human rights, modernization including of market and technology, ideological conflict, and, after all,

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[398] Micklethwait and Wooldridge, *God Is Back*, 9.
[399] Micklethwait and Wooldridge, *God Is Back*, 32.
[400] Micklethwait and Wooldridge, *God Is Back*, 32–33.

globalization.[401] It seems quite strange to see the reasons as some of these are the same

things with which the radical revolutionists or secular theorists supported their arguments

for the death of religions. We need to see why these historical events are important for

the resurgence of religions, especially Christianity for this study.

First, scholars say that the movements for democracy, peace, justice, and human

rights helped Christianity to recover its public status, though the recovery is not

comparable to its past power and influence. The established churches were the enemies of

democracy and liberty, including religious freedom. They were considered stumbling

blocks for the new world of the free public and new system. The anti-clerical European

liberalists attacked "the Church's schools, its appointment of bishops, and its governance

of its affairs in many realms."[402] Even to the middle of the 19th century and the early 20th

century, the Popes and the Catholic Church openly sided with the anti-modern and anti-

liberal groups.[403]

It was the Second Vatican Council from 1962 to 1965 that made dramatic changes

to the Catholic Church's attitudes regarding democracy, peace, justice, and human rights.

Following the proclamation of the Catholic Church for democracy and human rights, the

Catholic Church played a leading role in promoting the new languages of democracy and

human rights in national and international politics and in the life and the culture of the

public. Among the religions that supported the national and international democratization,

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[401] Micklethwait and Wooldridge, *God Is Back*, 12; Toft, Philpott, and Shah, *God's Century*, 13; Jeffrey Haynes, *Introduction to International Relations and Religion* (Harlow, England: Pearson Longman, 2007), 24.
[402] Toft, Philpott, and Shah, *God's Century*, 5.
[403] Toft, Philpott, and Shah, *God's Century*, 5

the Catholic Church's works were literally surpassing. Here we need to focus on the works of the Christian churches for democratization.

Toft and et al analyzed and introduced the leading or supporting role of religious actors including Catholic, Muslim, Hindu, Orthodox, and Protestant in the democratization and anti-democratization of almost all countries between 1972 and 2009.[404] The reason for the absence of Judaism is Israel's liberal electoral democratic system since its founding year 1948 and the free status acknowledged by Freedom House.[405] In the case of Buddhism, it failed to make any supporting or leading role in most countries, but this does not mean that Buddhism did not make any contribution to the democratization of the Buddhist or non-Buddhist countries. Different or same religious actor/s played a democratizing role or/and anti-democratizing role in the same countries like Kenya, Mali, Chile and Iraq, so there could be an overlap of the numbers. Between 1972 and 2009, the number of countries that experienced democratization was 78. Of the 78 countries, the religious actors played a leading or supporting anti-democratizing role in 29. Of the 78 countries, the religious actors played a leading or supporting democratizing role in 48. Among 48 countries, the Catholic actors played a democratizing role in 36. The runner-up was the Protestant actors in 19 countries, and other religious actors in 17 countries. Anyone should say that it was "overwhelmingly a Catholic Wave."[406] However, this was not because the Catholic actors found its battle

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[404] Toft, Philpott, and Shah, *God's Century,* 82–120.
[405] Toft, Philpott, and Shah, *God's Century,* 104.
[406] Toft, Philpott, and Shah, *God's Century,* 111.

fields in other un-democratic countries, but because its battle fields were un-democratic Christian countries.[407]

There could be two considerable political reasons for the conversion of the Christian churches to democracy, peace, and human rights. First, as Toft and et al say, the churches could earn independence from their state institutions.[408] The churches battles with the dictatorial or monarchal regime were eventually for its independence and the freedom of its members from various kinds of oppressions. In 1972 and earlier, the world citizens already learned how much the citizens of the democratic countries enjoyed rights, liberty, and relative wealth. During the 1970s and 80s, the economy of the democratic countries and some un-democratic countries were racing for the top. The communist, un-democratic, or dictatorial countries received relatively fewer benefit from the economic boom or bubble. This should affect the lives of the public and of the churches and clergies. In other words, their life under communism and dictatorship were worse than under modernization and liberalization. Compared to the life of the clergies in the democratized or liberalized countries, there should have been stronger feelings of loss or sense of defeat. The democratization of the public and state meant the independence of the churches and the restoration of their economic wealth.

Second, the churches could have political initiative and hegemony for many social and political issues. During the Cold War, the main political themes were peace, disarmament, civil rights, human rights, democratization, and anti-nuclear. The Christian churches had handled all themes through their Christian activists, institutions, and

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[407] Toft, Philpott, and Shah, *God's Century,* 185.
[408] Toft, Philpott, and Shah, *God's Century,* 112.

movements. There were meaningful religious and political performances of the popes and bishops. In the United States, a charismatic protestant leader, Martin Luther King Jr., and a contemplative catholic leader, Thomas Merton, became the symbols of justice, equality, and peace. There were also Deitrich Bonhoeffer of Germany, Mother Teresa of India, Desmond Tutu of South Africa, Oscar Romero of El Salvador, Ik-hwan Moon of Korea, and many others who fought for or against segregation and discrimination, liberty, rights, poverty, and all kinds of violence and oppression. Through the sacrifice of these new heroes, the Christian churches won spiritual and political authority again as messengers of peace, justice, and love. The religions as a whole are now and again great political powers in national and international politics.

Modernization of economy and technology is another factor that brought the revival of Christian spiritual authority. The modernization of economy could mean free market, capitalist market, and on-line market. Technology should imply all new technologies being used for ministry and religious business. Among Christian markets of the world, the USA Christian post–modern market is the greatest by quality, quantity, and history. Unlike Europeans, the US Christians have used the modernization of the market and technology for religious, economic, social and political reasons. The first notable change was their use of radio begun from 1920s.[409] Most major Christian churches and congregations, and even some minor groups, used the new means for the Gospel. The radio became a battle field among different Christian groups to advocate and promote

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[409] Robert S. Fortner, "Media," in *The Blackwell Companion to Religion in America,* ed. Philip Goff (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 207.

their theology, history, tradition, and new gospels for the new age. Christian and religious

radio broadcasting was free for their independence and autonomy until the 1940s.[410]

The television ministry business opened in the early 1950s in the United States. A

Catholic bishop, Fulton J. Sheen, became the first Christian television celebrity through

his program *Life is Worth Living* in 1951.[411] A Pentecostal preacher Oral Roberts became

the first true "televangelist" through his faith healing on TV. Others were Billy Graham,

Pat Robertson, Jim Bakker, Jimmy Swaggart, and so on. There were some controversies

and scandals about radio and TV ministry, but it continued to grow with the

establishment of the Christian Broadcasting Network by Pat Robertson in 1960. Different

Christian churches and congregations spoke up about religious, ethical, social, and

political matters. The matters include peace, love, civil rights, disarmament,

homosexuality, family value, patriotism, and white Christian propaganda. Among the top

20 international broadcasters in terms of weekly broadcasting hour, 4 were Christian

broadcasters by the 1990s. The top four were Radio Vatican, FEBC, HCJB, and

Transworld.[412] They are all multilingual international Christian broadcasters. Now we

have countless Christian radio and TV programs and channels across the world.

Today we also have the internet and smart phones. Many Christian churches have

website and provide online worship and sermons. Christian organizations and institutions

utilize cyber space to advertise their vision, activities, and strengths. It is easy to find

websites for monasteries. We can check the Pope's schedule and read the Catholic daily

news on Vatican.va. Christian songs and video clips are everywhere. Although we still

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[410] Fortner, "Media," in *The Blackwell Companion to Religion in America*, ed. Goff, 209.
[411] Fortner,"Media," 208.
[412] Hamid Mowlana, *Global Information and World Communication : New Frontiers in International Relations*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage, 1997), 79.

need to study the relationship between the use of internet and the religious benefits of the faith communities, it is the fashion now for Christian churches to use the internet for ministry, missionary works, and Christian political campaigns. Smart phone apps help us to pray, meditate, and worship. The apps provide the Christian calendar and important Christian events. Pastors send emails to their members as a way of ministry. Virtual bible study and worship are not a new trend anymore. Spiritual materials are available wherever there is internet and smart phone. The availability of the online spiritual materials is par excellent than any other kinds of spiritual materials.

Globalization in a sense is not a new trend in Christianity. From Jesus and Paul to Constantine, the mission of Christianity was globalization. The western part of the globe had been Christianized during the Middle Ages, and competed with another globalizing actor, Muslim. As we have briefly studied, the mission of the European churches in America, Africa, and Asia was for civilizing the uncivilized in terms of Christianity, economy, language, culture, and politics. The globalization of Christianity did not intend to share its markets, but strengthen the monopoly. It seemed that the churches and the powers got along well with each other. However, the benefits of the western globalization flowed into the pockets of the aristocrats, kings, and later, the bourgeois. The churches earned bigger markets while the markets were not ready to produce profits yet.

Modern globalization was not a Christian globalization. Christianity already lost its hegemony in economy, education, and politics. Modern globalization was pluralistic globalization in terms of religion, culture, economy, and politics. It was still a western-led globalization, but Christianity was no longer a leading factor. The legitimate descendant of the 16th century, so called capitalism, replaced all other leading factors.

Capitalism became the sole principle of world economy and politics. We could even say that most historical events from the 18th century were capitalist or anti-capitalist. The main problem of Christianity in this globalizing and capitalist market was the plurality of the market and culture. Through the modern globalization, in contrast to its expectations, Christianity lost its monopoly in the European markets. In the meantime, it had markets in America, Africa, and Asia. These were the ex-colonies of the European countries. These markets were finally ready to produce profits for its owner. These markets were much more Christian-friendly than the countries that colonized them. In the wave of the globalization of peace, love, justice, market, technology, and culture, Christianity showed its great capacity of adoption, adaptation, transformation, compromise, and integration. The post–world war and post-modern globalization provided Christianity with a good market for Christianity.

Christianity knew well what to do in a new pluralistic world. It learned Constantine and other emperors and kings, the early and medieval churches, and from the anti-Christian thoughts and movements in the past. It was not so sure about its success in the pluralistic world because Christianity was not familiar with this kind of political and economic circumstances in which it had to compete with others. Christian success in the Roman Empire and the West began with the accidental conversion of Constantine. This time the success depended on its own capacity. Christians caught the right themes at the right time for the public, the politicians, and the consumers reflecting on their past mistakes. The new Christian contents made its political territory bigger. Accordingly, the markets grew bigger. Consequently, politicians and capital's interests in Christianity grew much bigger.

The ideological conflicts of the World Wars, the Cold War, and the process of the globalization gave a vital chance to Christianity. We can read similar ideas about the relationship between the resurgence of religions and the ideological conflicts among the scholars we studied like Toft and et al, Haynes, and Micklethwait and Wooldridge. Toft and et al say it "a crisis in secular ideology."[413] Haynes writes it "a growing lack of faith in secular ideologies."[414] Micklethwait and Wooldridge explain through the example of Marxism, capitalism, and politician's inability in various public matters and borrow Gaddis's word, "the collapse of secular 'ism'."[415] What Christianity served to Christians could be understood, in a political sense, as the new Christian ideologies. The political themes and contents were different from those of the early churches, but the pattern reminds us of Constantine, the early church, and the monastic movements.

In the final section of this chapter, we will discuss the political meanings of the contemporary Christian spirituality and the four popular Christian practices through the study we performed. The resurgence of religions in the public and political realms points out the reasons and functions of the transformation and revival of Christian spirituality and spiritual practices. Again, we Christians, Christianity, and our spirituality and spiritual practices should be understood with politics that has affected life, mind, and sprit of all of us.

Conclusion: Christian Spirituality, Spiritual Practices, and the New Political World

As we have studied, the effects and results of globalization affected our lives in every aspect. From water, food, and shelter to social and political matters, globalization

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[413] Toft, Philpott, and Shah, *God's Century*, 13.

[414] Haynes, *Introduction to International Relations and Religion*, 24.

[415] Micklethwait and Wooldridge, *God Is Back*, 20.

causes negative or positive changes to our lives. Both negative and positive changes affect our body, mind, and spirit. Before we go further, it seems now that we need to talk about a Christian spirit. From a Christian sense, the spirit could mean the breath of God or a part of the spirit of God in the human body. God is the sole source of a Christian spirit. Christian spirits are the parts of God, but not God's spirit. We cannot say a spirit has a brain, sensory system, or neural network, so it is often understood in its relationship with the human body and mind. The human body is the house of God or the temple of God, for God is in us as the Holy Spirit. The human mind is often equated with spirit and is also often considered rational, emotional and psychological. As a term, the mind is not always discussed in relationship with God. Spirit is often spoken of through its connection or disconnection with God. To talk about spirit is often to talk about God. Spirit is sometimes an independent entity and sometimes not. In this dissertation, spirit is mainly dependent on body and mind. This dissertation does not deny the works of God in human spiritual and non-spiritual activities, but it is not the interest of this study. A spirit separated from its body and mind is also not the interest of this study. Theological, philosophical, religious, or metaphysical studies can talk about this separated spirit. This study is about the human experience and practices that are called spiritual and non-spiritual in a Christian manner.

We cannot scientifically say that there is a spirit. We do not have any scientific and philosophical evidence or logic for the existence of a spirit. We could only say that there is a human being and his or her desire to be connected with a divine being and that there is a belief and hope to be united with the Sacred Being. For the religious people, this has always been accepted as human nature as well as God's nature: the human beings

and the divine being/s want to and are able to encounter each other. In a contemporary sense, we do not need a divine being to pursue a spiritual life. From a Christian perspective, however, God is the origin and source of a spiritual life. The encounter with God is the very essential aspect of a Christian spiritual life. The means of encountering God are various and different by the practitioners' affiliation, membership, tradition, and personal knowledge, and experience.

The two beliefs, or presuppositions, about a Christian spiritual life are that the triune God exists and that humans have spirits. No one could satisfactorily prove or disprove these two beliefs. This should not mean that the attempt to prove or disprove is meaningless. Rather, if I want to say that I have a spirit, I have to admit that I cannot prove this or that others cannot disprove this. Thus, for scientist, philosophers, or scholars and people who do not accept the existence of God and spirit, a spirit could mean something that does not exist, is not real, or is absolutely illusory and imaginary. For Christians, a spirit is real as their life is real to them. To deny the Christian spirit means to deny their entire life. This would be the same for many religious people. These are the things we have to accept for each other.

As the writer of this dissertation, I do not deny or confirm the existence of the human spirit. I feel my spirit, experience my spirit, learn my spirit, use my spirit, and enjoy my spirit. I have a spirit, and this is my knowledge like knowing that I have a left hand. I would accept that I have learned this from my churches, my pastors, my church members, my Holy Scripture, or other religious factors and teachings. Although I cannot prove or disprove this some thousand year old belief, this is not a problem for all of us. It is because the aim of this dissertation is not by any means to prove or disprove this belief.

Instead, some can understand that this dissertation aims to study the relationship between Christian religious life and practices and the historical and political influences in their life and practices. And also, you can consider that the two beliefs are not the essential themes of this dissertation. We are focusing on the human practices and human politics. As the writer of this dissertation, I do not deny the works of God in human practices and politics. You are free to ignore my belief to read this dissertation for your own purpose. You may use your own language when you read about the Christian concept of spirit, God, and spiritual life. For those of you who do not accept the existence of God and spirit, I would like to define a Christian spirit as a Christian mind that include reason, emotion, psychology or anything else scientifically provable. Again, you are free to use your own language of Freud, Jung or anyone else.

For the rest of this study, a spirit means a spiritual being in and with body and mind. This spirit is a breath of God and a part of the spirit of God. This spirit eventually means a holistic human person with body and mind. This spiritual being is affected by God as well as the world, other people, and the nature. This being pursues a divine help, interference, provision, power, knowledge, union, and transformation. Logically speaking, this being should be a human being who seeks a Christian spiritual life. The difference between this spiritual being and other spiritual or non-spiritual beings is the former's way of life in Christian God, Christian belief, and Christian practices. This being is totally the same human being, but in different way of life, thought, and practice. Therefore, this being often sees the same event from a different view and experiences or interprets experience in a different language.

In a sense, this being is also a Christian religious being. In contrast, a Christian religious being is not always a spiritual being who seeks a spiritual life. An exclusive characteristic of a spiritual being is his or her practices to seek God and God's intervention in their life. His or her belief in God is just a starting point to become a spiritual being. Religious doctrine or theological doctrines does not automatically guarantee a spiritual life. A spiritual being and life is an active and intended being and life in seeking God and God's intervention. A spiritual experience, moment, inspiration, and enlightenment do not imply a spiritual life. Any being can have these, but a spiritual being and life is not a momentary or temporal. A spiritual being and life observe continuity, consistency, willingness, intentionality, and purposefulness. A spontaneous spiritual experience is a spiritual experience, but not a spiritual life. This sudden experience could lead one to a spiritual life or not. This whole understanding does not designate a totally devotional religious life or any religious professionalism or elitism. Yet, as an exclusive characteristic of a spiritual being and life, spiritual practices that are open to all must be emphasized than a spontaneous experience to understand spiritual being and life.

Going back to the effects of globalization, the process and results of globalization affects the Christian spiritual being and life. These fruits of globalization change the themes, contents, and practices of Christian spiritual life. These affect the thoughts, experiences, emotions, physical states, and psychological health of a spiritual being. After the World Wars, the Cold War, and eventually with the ideological conflicts, Christian spirituality and spiritual practices rediscovered the meaning of peace and justice and became an advocate of human rights. A key term in this change is universalization or

globalization. The appeal for peace, justice, and right of the post-modern Christian spirituality and practices was not only to the Christians, but also to the global citizens who were in the middle of the ideological conflicts.

It is a noteworthy phenomenon that some Christian spiritual leaders have used religiously pluralistic language and universal ethical themes in their writings. In Thomas Merton and Thomas Keating, two of the most popular Christian spiritual leaders of the past generation, we can see an effort to use Christian, Buddhist, Islam, and Hindu spiritual language together to explain and strengthen a new Christian contemplation, spiritual exercises, and spiritual wisdoms. In the beginning of Keating's *The Human Condition*, a small 45 page book of contemplation and transformation, originally two lectures given to Harvard Divinity School, he used a Sufi tale to give an insight to his audiences and readers about the experience of the presence of God.[416] At the end of the same book or lecture, Keating used a Buddhist story for the same purpose. Keating's foreword for Romain's book *Kundalini Energy and Christian Spirituality* shows his openness to a pluralistic understanding of Christian spirituality.[417] Merton's love of Zen Buddhism is well known. The two collections of his writings, *Zen and the Birds of Appetite* published in 1968 after Merton died and *Mystics and Zen Masters*, first published in 1961, are filled with Buddhist and Christian spiritual languages.

Keating and Merton's effort to use religiously pluralistic language is not to Christianize other spiritual traditions. Instead, they wanted to find universal or global sources for Christian spirituality and contemplation. One would not say Keating and

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[416] Thomas Keating, *The Human Condition : Contemplation and Transformation* (New York: Paulist Press, 1999), 8–9.

[417] Philip A. St. Romain, *Kundalini Energy and Christian Spirituality : A Pathway to Growth and Healing* (New York: Crossroad, 1991).

Merton's approach to other spiritual tradition is imperialistic. Rather, this could be considered another symbolic phenomenon of a progressive change of Christian spirituality for the spiritual contemporaries. Christian spirituality has two sides. In a political language, one side is progressive and the other conservative. We see the progressive side of Christian spirituality when it adopts, adapts, transforms, and discovers or rediscovers things of itself or of others. The conservative side emphasizes unity, hierarchy, order, orthodoxy, and tradition. To be progressive means to be realistic and available for the life and the spiritual needs of its practitioners. To be conservative means to be coherent and consistent for the same reasons.

Being progressive, we can assume that the spiritualities of Keating, Merton, and other spiritual writers who have used pluralistic language played a positive role than a negative role in an ideological conflict. Analyzing the privatization of Asian wisdom traditions in the western markets of spirituality, Carrette and King write about a problem of the western markets of spirituality in *Selling Spirituality*.

> The renunciatory spiritualities of Asia…, far from providing sustenance for a philosophy of accommodation to contemporary consumerism and atomistic individualism, furnish us instead with ancient 'inner technologies' and philosophies for overcoming the destructive cycle of craving that we valorise today as 'consumerism'…Much of the contemporary literature on 'spirituality', rather than picking up the richness and complexity of Asian wisdom traditions, privatise them for a western society that is oriented towards the individual as consumer and society as market.[418]

In Keating and Merton's use of pluralistic languages, we do not see an attempt to privatize the spiritualities of others for their spiritualities. They expressed their respect and praise well for the other spiritualities. As Carrett and King write, Keating and Merton saw the ancient technologies and philosophies and introduced them to their audiences and

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[418] Jeremy R. Carrette and Richard King, *Selling Spirituality : The Silent Takeover of Religion* (London: Routledge, 2005), 120–22.

readers for a new interpretation and understanding of contemplation and spiritual life. They fully understood other spiritual traditions and explained the differences and similarities between their spiritualities and others. No attempt to appropriate or privatize others for their spiritualities was read in Keating and Merton. Although we cannot definitely say that Keating and Merton's spiritual teachings helped Christian and non-Christians in fighting against consumerism and individualism, it seems correct to say that their pluralistic spiritual teachings with Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, and Christian wisdom would help people to discover a bigger spiritual shelter in the midst of the turbulent changes of their lives.

Keating and Merton knew their Christian spiritualities needed to be universalized or globalized. If their use of pluralistic language is one example of this, the other is the ethical themes and the emphasis on action found in their writings. In *Invitation to Love*, especially in chapter 20 and 21, Keating, encouraging action, listed historical events and political problems in national and international realms with his critics of the Church. His language included the Church's failure of mission and massacre, social injustice, economic and territorial interest, apartheid in South Africa and other regions, Christian imperialism, Nazi regime, inequality, and "the enormity of the global problems of hunger, oppression, and peace."[419]

Merton's *Seeds of Destruction*, a 328 page book, is full of interesting political themes of the past and his contemporary. Let us just see some titles of parts and chapters: Black Revolution, Letters to a White Liberal, The Christian in World Crisis, A Tribute to

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[419] Thomas Keating, *Invitation to Love : The Way of Christian Contemplation* (New York: Continuum, 1995), 120–29.

Gandhi, and Letters in a Time of Crisis. The most meaningful remark of this collection of

Merton's writings is found at the very beginning. Merton wrote:

> The contemplative life is not, and cannot be, a mere withdrawal, a pure negation, a
> turning of one's back on the world with its sufferings, its crises, its confusions and its
> error. First of all, the attempt itself would be illusory. No man can withdraw completely
> from the society of his fellow men; and the monastic community is deeply implicated, for
> better or for worse, in economic, political, and social structures of the contemporary
> world. To forget or to ignore this does not absolve the monk from responsibility for
> participation in events in which his very silence and 'not knowing' may constitute a form
> of complicity. The mere fact of 'ignoring' what goes on can become a political
> decision.[420]

Anthony was famous for his radical life as a hermit. Athanasius praised Anthony and the

radical withdrawal life against the Pachomian Federation. Pachomius gathered people

under one monastic roof while emphasizing strict rules to withdraw from the world. The

Council of Chalcedon prohibited the political involvement of monks. We have enough

reason call to this remark the new monastic and contemplative political propaganda of the

20th century. It was the Church that prohibited the political activities of a spiritual group.

Now a popular spiritual leader and writer talked back to the Church.

These two examples of pluralistic spiritual language and the new political themes

are related in a way. In *Open Mind and Open Heart*, first published in 1986, Keating

wrote about the two reasons why contemplative prayer is receiving renewed attention.

> One is that historical and theological studies have rediscovered the integral teaching of
> John of the Cross and other masters of the spiritual life. The other is the post-World War
> II challenge from the East. Methods of meditation similar to contemplative prayer in the
> Christian tradition have proliferated, produced good results, and received much publicity.
> It is important, according to the Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-
> Christian Religious (Vatican II) , to appreciate the values that are present in the teachings
> of the other great religions of the world. The spiritual disciplines of the East possess a
> highly developed psychological wisdom. Christian leaders and teachers need to know
> something about them in order to meet people where they are today. Many serious
> seekers of truth study the Eastern religions, take courses in them in college or graduate
> school, and practice forms of meditation inspired and taught by Eastern
> masters....Centering prayer sort of compensates for the lack of people's ability in our
> time to go from lectio into contemplation...The rush to the East is a symptom of what is

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[420] Thomas Merton, *Seeds of Destruction* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1964), xi.

lacking in the West. There is a deep spiritual hunger that is not being satisfied in the West.[421]

The reasons for the resurgence of religions we studied in the previous section include the same reasons Keating described above. The extremely violent political conflicts revealed the reality of a cruel human political world. Human reason, technology, ideology, and economy that were believed to bring happiness to humans brought the very opposite. It was eventually humans who made this present and future. Humans have always been the same. They have killed each other for some thousand or more years over various reasons like food, sex, money, land, gold, security, natural resource, ideology, religion, revenge and counter-revenge, history, and so on. The technologies of military and media made the Wars bigger and the impacts of the Wars massive.

A bigger doubt for humans must be created by human-selves. Peace, justice, and rights of humans were sought in the times of no peace, no justice, and no rights. The wounded spirits of humans wanted to be healed and restored. An expression of the human effort to find the ways and methods to heal the wounded spirits was the contemplative life and prayers. The situation was desperate and urgent. A pluralistic spiritual language was required for the citizens and Christians over the world. Political and ethical themes needed to be discussed for the new spiritualities, renewed practices, and new purposes of the new political world.

In the time of Constantine, the early church, and the monastic movements, relics, shrines, churches, basilicas, rules, new prayers, and monastic life played the same function first for the politically oppressive Christian world and later for the politically

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[421] Thomas Keating, *Open Mind, Open Heart : The Contemplative Dimension of the Gospel* (New York: Continuum, 1997), 26–31.

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stable or transitional Christian world. These practices were also a pluralistic expression of the early Christian practices and Christianity. The political and ethical teachings of the Church were not universal yet. Love and justice were still said from Christian perspective. The Church did not have many chances to think of rights, liberty, and equality since it became the best friend of the political and economic powers. It took about 1,900 years, since the birth and death of Jesus, for the Church and Christian humans to talk for the rights, liberty, and equality of others. The globalization of politics, capitalism and anti-capitalist movement, technology, the concept of human rights, and effects of all these factors had affected our contemporary spiritualities and spiritual practices. The Christian contemplative practices and prayers were born again after their crisis and death throughout the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and the Revolutions.

Pilgrimage became the most politically sensitive spiritual practice since Constantine. The national and international politics and economic conditions directly affect the Christian pilgrimage and its industry. Millions of people and billions in currency engage in this industry. The tourism integrated with Christian pilgrimage is a considerable part of the economy for many countries, cities, and towns like Italy with Rome and the Vatican, Israel with Jerusalem and Bethlehem, Greece and Turkey with Paul's legacy, Spain with Santiago de Compostela, France with the town of Lourdres, Mexico with Our Lady of Guadalupe , Egypt and Palestine with the traces of the early churches, and many more countries, cities and towns with the holy shrines, basilicas, cathedrals, the holy sites, the sites for the past and modern martyrs. The political sensitivity of pilgrimage has always been observed. By the 7th century, the Christian

pilgrimage was affected by the conflicts between Christianity and Islam. [422] It is assumed

that the number of pilgrims and holy sites was dramatically reduced. Later, the Crusades,

wars, the Reformation, the revolutions, the World Wars, the South American civil wars

and ideological conflicts, and the recent Israeli-Palestinian conflict are all together

examples of the political influence to pilgrimage. A most noticeable point in the

pilgrimage's political sensitivity is that a cross national pilgrimage can hardly be

practiced without peace, protection, and rights. This is because of the territorial

characteristics of pilgrimage are still strong in our contemporary nation-state system.

One's passport, the symbol of citizenship, could decide whether he or she can enter the

holy sites. The political condition of the holy sites could allow visitors or not. Sometimes

one who has more spiritual or political authority can access the sites, but they are rejected

in other cases.

Pilgrimage is functioning as a political action to promote peace and reconciliation.

Pope Francis visited the Holy Land in May, 2014. One of his aims was to encourage "the

path to peace."[423] At the end of his speech, he invited Christians to pray a Hail Mary for

World Peace. Following their Holy Father, 18 U.S bishops went to the Holy Land and

"the Occupied Palestinian territories" in September for "a prayer pilgrimage" and had a

mass there for love, peace, and rights.[424] Visiting a territory in conflict is a popular

political action. The Demilitarized Zone between South and North Korea is a place many

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[422] Mary Lee Nolan and Sidney Nolan, *Christian Pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 92.

[423] Vitican Information Service, "Pope Francis Recalls His Pilgrimage to the Holy Land," May 28, 2014, accessed Oct 16, 2014, http://visnews-en.blogspot.com/2014/05/pope-francis-recalls-his-pilgrimage-to.html.

[424] Don Clemmer, "*U.S. Bishops Affirm Power of Prayer for Israeli-Palestinian Peace Following Pilgrimage to Holy Land*," September 22, 2014, accessed Oct 16, 2014 http://www.usccb.org/news/2014/14-160.cfm.

political and religious leaders visit to talk about peace in Asia. The Berlin Wall was once a symbol of ideological conflict and visited by various leaders. Assembly or meeting in these places has more intensive political and religious meanings. If these places are considered holy sites, it is much easier to have public attention for peace or for other purposes. The Crusades and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are two good examples of this.

Labyrinths contain implicit political themes and guarantee freedom of practice. A labyrinth does not need a territorial space. A personal or private place can be a space for walking the labyrinth. No peace, protection, and rights are required. In any circumstance, one could practice the walking in various ways for many different reasons. The location of the labyrinth could be in a room, building, or garden. A small palm size labyrinth will be enough if the space is not big enough to walk. Rocks, pieces of wood, fabrics, powders, books, flowers, trees, and fallen leaves can be used to make a labyrinth. The labyrinths without Christian symbols or signs could still be a holy space for the people who want to practice for a spiritual reason. The meaning and purpose of the practice depends on the leaders or the practitioners. There is no solid rule to walk the labyrinth. The level of freedom in walking the labyrinth is higher than other practices.

The conclusion for this chapter through our political lens could be like the following:

Ideal City, Citizen, Ideology, and End and Means

In the contemporary resurgence of religions and Christian spirituality, the ideal city was transformed into a global city. These days a city, nation, state, region, or united region cannot represent a religion or Christianity. All cities and nations are becoming

global. In the politics of the global city, religious or spiritual ideology is not the primary political goal or philosophy of governance anymore. The interest and security of the individual state-nation is the first political concern. Few groups of political bodies and religious organizations still try to actualize their religious ideologies in a real political realm. Few religious actor-groups are visible on the stage. Christianity is still a very strong factor in politics, but it is not the main actor. Now Christianity stays behind the curtain. Most religious groups indirectly affect the politics regarding social, ethical, and religious matters. In international politics, this is more so. Although the intervention of religious groups is still influential, the influence of religion and religious ideology is weaker than the past.

If Christian spiritual ideology and practices were the explicit means to actualize specific spiritual ideals and goals in real politics in the past, today's spiritual ideology and practices have a new mission for the universal ethical matters and the global political matters like peace, poverty, charity, compassion, and reconciliation. An individual's peace of mind and spiritual maturity became great themes in spirituality and spiritual practices. The former, ideology, and latter, new mission, exist together in the global city. Who emphasizes what is an important matter now. However, if one ignores the new mission, the power to pursue the former will be taken away. Our contemporary Christian spiritual leaders knew this well and experienced this through revolutions, wars, and political conflicts. Once Christianity lost its political power, there is no way to get it back except following the new rules and values in the global city, which is not a Christian city.

Government: Policy, Law, and Legitimacy

The new politics of the global city do not automatically provide Christian-friendly policies and laws. The political groups and powers need not earn political legitimacy from the Church. Even though Christian citizens and churches are still important political customers to the parties, Christianity is just one of many religious actors in politics. The state-nations, governments, or regimes do not affect the doctrinal disputes of a religion or conflicts among religions if there is no violence or violation of law. The Christian churches try to affect the process of policy-making with money, religious movements, media, and Christian politicians. Again, however, they are just one of the many political actors. Other religious groups are also active. In general, religions do not have military power or the rights to make national and international policies. This is very different from the past.

Spirituality and spiritual practices are affected by policy and law. A simple example is that some US states prohibit religious prayer during a public ceremony of public schools. Any popular Christian, Jewish, or Muslim prayer cannot be an official prayer or prayers in a public school. "Public" means no-religion instead of multi-religious or pluralistic society. Policy and law of most state-nations guarantee the maximum level of religious freedom to religious individuals and religious groups. On the other hand, the spiritual practices of religious people should be private, personal or internal rather than public and external. Most nation-states and international organizations want to promote religious rights and religious tolerance, but they do not want to pray together or listen to others' prayers.

Spiritual practices are becoming more and more private, personal, and internal. Policy and law require spiritual people to be quiet. It seems that governments believe that spiritual practices of religious individuals or groups will cause conflicts. Religious people also believe that spirituality and spiritual practices are territory that cannot be shared. This could mean that we consider spirituality the most conservative area of religion. In a sense, this is true. In another sense and in a real example of Christianity, spirituality and practices are the advance guard for the new pluralistic, global world. When politics still could not talk about peace and reconciliation, spiritual people and prayerful-people could advocate ethical and political values in political conflicts. Politics should recognize the importance of spiritual practices in our global world for the true meaning of pluralistic society, the true meaning of political reconciliation, and the true meaning of religious freedom and tolerance.

Economy: Labor, Property, Distribution and Resource

In today's politics, Christian spirituality found a new political ground in the market. Christian spirituality created a new market in the religious industry by providing new theories and rediscovered practices. Lectio Divina, the Jesus Prayer, contemplative prayers, centering prayers, new routes of pilgrimage, new meanings found in the labyrinth, and new spiritual programs and themes result in products and profits. New markets create more jobs. For program designers and book writers, the ownership and protection of intellectual property for their spiritual products are significant matters. Many spiritual products and programs are not shared for free. They are to be sold for a profit. Spiritual teaching and direction are now labor and property.

In our global market, the economic environments of spiritual Christians are not necessarily competition-free or market-free. People expect spiritual teachings and directions in the middle of their competition against others. They practice spiritual practices to soothe their tension in the jungle of the market. Christian spirituality can be either resistant or adaptive to the market. The spiritual customer chooses products.

Christian spirituality has excavated resources from other religions like Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam. It realized the lack of proper resources for the new generation. The process of adoption and transformation took place once again in the regeneration of Christian spirituality.

Territory: Location, Conflict, and Warfare

The ideological conflicts among nation-states or unions showed not only the obvious ideological boundaries, but also the religious borders in terms of Christianity. The so called Free World was friendly to Christianity. The so called Communist camp was hostile to Christianity. Christian spirituality and spiritual practices in the Free World have blossomed under religious rights, freedom, technology, and market. Under the Communist regimes, Christian spirituality and practices experienced great repression. The Communist system was attractive to spiritual people. However, the system rejected the spiritual life and freedom. Christian spiritual groups did not choose the locations in either the Free World or the Communist camp. They did not have power or freedom to choose the location. Politics and wars demarcated the borders and territories of Christian groups.

Conflicts and warfare provided Christian spirituality with new themes and spiritual grounds. One group enjoyed freedom and rights in secure territories, and the other groups experienced oppression in soon-to-be collapsed territories. Christian spirituality and practices in secure territories were transformed and renovated. In contrast, these were passive and dependent in the other territories. Spiritual people in free lands achieved and promote more than self-preservation and religious identity; spiritual people in cold lands struggled for self-preservation and religious identity.

Public Support, Freedom, and Rights

We need to talk about freedom and rights in the spiritual realm as well as the political and ethical realms. In the past, spiritual practices were understood mainly as communal practices. Personal prayers and practices had less value than congregational, liturgical, and communal prayers and practices. Sacraments like baptism and the Eucharist were the greatest spiritual means along with the sacred rituals. This was also true for the early Christian reformers and their churches. Lectio Divina and the Jesus Prayer were to be practiced by individual monks and nuns, but these were still for the communal spiritual goals and life.

In our global spiritual market, individual practitioners choose a prayer and practice for their spiritual life and goals. For some, baptism and the Eucharist are overly religious and coercive. They pursue personal spiritual life according to their needs and tastes. Fixed goals and procedures are not important for them. Efficiency, utility, and convenience are spiritual virtues. They do not need a leader or guru. They lead their spiritual life in the directions they feel free and comfortable. They have sufficient

knowledge and experience to lead their spiritual life. They are educated and wealthy.

They want to fully enjoy their freedom, rights, and privacy for spiritual matters. At any

moment, individual practitioners could be supporters of a spiritual tradition and practices.

However, this does not mean that the practitioners have strong membership and loyalty to

the tradition and practice. They move here and there and explore various traditions and

practices. Christian spirituality will have more practitioners like these. This is a new trend

in Christian spirituality and spiritual practices, especially in developed countries,

although we cannot say that this is a universal phenomenon found in all religions.

In a time of globalization, the four popular practices gained renewed contents and

meanings. The revival of the old practices should be a pleasant experience for the

Christians of different churches and congregations. The spiritual meanings and

importance of this revival cannot be told enough in this short dissertation. Instead, I will

briefly summarize what I have found in my studies and suggest a way to understand

Christian spirituality and spiritual practices as the conclusion of this dissertation.

Before we go on to the last part of this dissertation, we should accept that this

study did not talk about the Orthodox Churches and their role in our new political and

spiritual world. It was mainly because of their sad history under the atheist or anti-

Orthodox regimes. Many Orthodox Christians suffered under communist regimes. For

example, McGuckin writes that the Soviet persecution killed 600 bishops, 40,000 priests,

and 120,000 monks and nuns of the Orthodox Churches.[425] 56 million Russian Orthodox

Christians in 1900 had dropped to 39 million by 1970. Between 1917 and 1923, the

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[425] John Anthony McGuckin, *The Orthodox Church: An Introduction to Its History, Doctrine, and Spiritual Culture* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008), 47–54.

Bolsheviks executed 28 Russian bishops and 1,400 priests. In 1914, there was a total

1,024 monasteries for the Russian monks and nuns. The number had dramatically fallen

during the Cold War, and now 219 monasteries for men and 240 monasteries for women

are operating and making a resurgence. The unification of Germany and the dissolution

of the Soviet Union had occurred in the beginning of 1990s. The role of the Orthodox

Churches was limited until the middle of the 1990s by their size, financial condition,

theological education, renewal and rebuilding process, and recovering social and political

status. In spite of these worst political situations, the Catholic and Protestant Christians

could encountered the Orthodox spirituality and spiritual practices like Hesychasm, Jesus

Prayer, and the Prayer of the Heart through the hard work of the Orthodox fathers and

scholars like Lev Gillet, Kallitos Ware, Ignatius Brianchaninov, and more.

Chapter 5

Conclusion of Dissertation: Spirit and Power

Jesus gave a renewed vision of the Kingdom of God and of the world to his followers. Then he gave a new prayer, the Lord's Prayer, to his Jewish followers. Jesus was a Jew, and it is natural to assume that he knew Jewish prayers regarding his religious activities and knowledge. The formulas of the prayers are seen in the Lord's Prayer with the words borrowed from the Jewish spiritual traditions.[426] For example, "Hallowed be thy name" and "your kingdom come" are from the *Mourner's Kaddish*, a Jewish prayer. In the *Kaddish*, it is written: "Magnified and sanctified, may his great name be in the world that he created, as he wills, and may his kingdom come."[427] Most phrases of the prayer are also directly from, or slightly rephrased, from other Jewish prayers like the traditional *Jewish Morning Prayer*.

John Dominic Crossan wrote in his book, *The Greatest Prayer*, that "It is, you might say, a Jewish prayer from the Jewish Jesus."[428] He continued; "…the prayer came from Judaism and was transmitted through Christianity, but was ultimately for everyone. In other words, the entire biblical tradition flowed through every unit of this prayer."[429] We do not know whether Jesus copied the prayer from Jewish prayers or if Jesus chose the best phrases from the prayers for his followers.

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[426] Brown. *Paths to Prayer*, 43.

[427] Leon Wieseltier, *Kaddish* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), locations 69-71, Kindle edition.

[428] John Dominic Crossan, *The Greatest Prayer: Rediscovering the Revolutionary Message of the Lord's Prayer* (New York: HarperOne, 2011), 2.

[429] Crossan, Greatest Prayer, 8.

From the Lord's Prayer, we can see some important matters of life Jesus wanted

us to pray for. Our Father begins by calling God "our Father" and exalting God's name.

This is about God's name like in Exodus 3:13-14 and the third commandment[430]: "You

shall not make wrongful use of the name of the LORD your God, for the LORD will not

acquit anyone who misuses his name."[431] What we can see here is the relationship

between the person, or people, who pray and God who receives and the power network

between humans and the Divine. It is obvious that the Jewish people believed that they

have a special relationship with God. For them, they are the chosen nation by God. God

used divine power for them, to rescue them and to build a kingdom. God made a

covenant with the nation and protected them from their pagan enemies.

This phrase, however, is paradoxical. In the Hebrew Bible and the New

Testament, God is often depicted as the most Holy that humans cannot touch, see, and

casually encounter. In the Lord's Prayer, however, a person who prays should call the

most Holy his or her father. When s/he prays, the most Holy will be called as one of the

closest persons. Any father, in contrast, in the Bible is described as holy. The fatherhood

of God in the Jewish Bible and Christian Bible is probably not based on fatherhood in

general. Even though Jewish societies were male-centered and patriarchal, we see a few

fathers in the Bible who are holy without any flaw or weakness. Many fathers in the

Bible deserve one or more criticism. Then we could say that the power of the male,

including physical, financial, social, and other kinds, and the male's role as a protector of

the family from strangers, pagans, and enemies are two social factors that provided the

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[430] Robert E. Webber, ed., *The Biblical Foundations of Christian Worship* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995), 312.

[431] Ex 20:7, NRSV.

foundation for calling God as the father. This fatherhood is itself a manifestation of the Jewish longing for God's miraculous power and intervention for protection and prosperity in their history. This divine father has the Jews as sons and daughters. The sons and daughters are then united in God "father" by the powerful work of God. The beginning of the Lord's Prayer is the expression of a belief; God and God's name are the most holy, but still God is on our side and within our reach.

After the address, God's coming kingdom and will on earth and in heaven is the first matter for which we pray. God's kingdom, for the Jewish people, was a real kingdom on earth, especially for their nation. God's kingdom was not for God-self, but for the Jewish people, or eventually for all nations on earth as some Jewish Christians understood. God will be the king, the judge, and the sovereign in the kingdom. In this kingdom, human will is not important. God's will is dominating and overwhelming over any other law, governance, wisdom, or virtue. God's will was first conveyed to the few leaders, and the leaders brought the will of God to the public. God's will of this kind should be accomplished, for the kingdom, fully realized by God's will; this is the kingdom the Jewish people had longed for since the Babylonian Exile. God's kingdom is a real, religious, and political kingdom. We need to see the territorial conflicts between the Jewish people and other nations over hundreds, or even thousands of years, to understand their concept of kingdom.

Jesus' understanding of God's kingdom is confusing. He said, after he was baptized, that to repent, the kingdom of God is near. We must repent for the coming kingdom of God. According to Jesus' teachings in the gospels, a tax collector and prostitute can enter. Children and people who are born again can enter, and it is much

harder for the rich to enter the kingdom. A prostitute who believed John would enter the kingdom before the one who did not change his or her mind. Jesus compared the kingdom to a mustard seed in Luke 13. He also in the same chapter, compared it to a narrow door and said that "Strive to enter through the narrow door; for many, I tell you, will try to enter and will not be able."[432] He used metaphors and parables to teach the kingdom of God. This is a reason his words about the kingdom are not a perfect source for us to know the kingdom of God. However, we can find at least two absolute conditions about the kingdom; first, we must repent. Second, you'd better not to be rich.

Heaven is already there. God's will is done in heaven. We do not know what exactly happened in heaven and what the will of God was for heaven. God's will is realized in heaven. Therefore, what we know is that heaven is the perfect kingdom of God; moreover, the will and justice of God is fully realized. This kingdom is not realistic for those who are living on earth. It is a utopian kingdom that is expected to come and to be realized on earth; people's lives on earth are exactly opposite to the lives in the heaven where God's will is done. Here we might want to say that the kingdom and heaven point to the same goal, a dramatic change in individual lives or a communal life.

Bread is the second matter. The daily bread is "reminiscent of the manna."[433] Manna recalls both the saving act of God for the Israelites and a matter of living with which people spend the most time on. Although the manna or the daily bread means, for Christians, Jesus Christ, no Jew would refer to Jesus or any person as manna. It is obviously about the provisions we need each day.

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[432] Lk 13:24, NRSV.

[433] Webber, *Biblical Foundations of Christian Worship*, 313.

Bread, eating and drinking, these are the most significant matters for the human body. The justice of God, however, comes first, and bread comes next. And then sin, temptation, and the evil follow the bread. People are concerned about eating and drinking every day. For some, quality is important; for others, quantity is the only matter. Jesus multiplied bread and fish to feed many people. He knew that people needed to be fed. The bread is not only about the daily necessity for our body, but also about "the equitable distribution of our earth for all."[434] Bread in the Lord's Prayer is for all. If the bread is ours instead of mine, it is a matter of temptation and evil. The distribution is a matter of justice, temptation, and evil. The reason God's justice comes before the bread could be for the food and its distribution. A rich person might think that s/he needs not to pray for his or her bread. If s/he considers the distribution of bread, s/he maybe needs to pray.

Sin is against both God and fellow humans. As Jesus said, we must repent. In the Lord's Prayer, Jesus teaches that repentance is also about forgiveness. The one who forgives others can expect forgiveness from God, the judge of the kingdom. This principle does not exactly correspond with earthly law, or civil law. The law of reciprocity is applied to human lives in most cultures and religions. It has been more strictly practiced among business people and in international relations. To forgive to be forgiven differs from the law of reciprocity. What I need to do is forgive others whether they know it or not. There is no assurance that they will forgive me.

Temptation and evil in the Lord's Prayer are hard to define. One speaks about the denial of faith, verbally or practically[435]; the other refers to avoiding violence against or

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[434] Crossan, *Greatest Prayer*, 130.
[435] Webber, *Biblical Foundations of Christian Worship*, 313.

of the Roman Empire.[436] If the Lord's Prayer is eventually about the kingdom of God on earth, both analyses are correct. There are many temptations and evils on earth. The authors of the Bible introduced countless injustices, wrongdoings, evil, and sin, but it seems that the main theme is human injustice, unfaithfulness, and disbelief against God's justice and the revolutionary salvation through Jesus.

God works through humans, perhaps only through humans. Jesus taught us to pray: lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one. This could be Jesus' emphasis on humans' duty to their fellow humans. We need to acknowledge that we can be tempted and be the evil one who forgets the heavy duty given to each fellow human. There is no other way for Christians to avoid temptation except through God's grace and human struggle. Is the human struggle a secular way that denies God's power and grace? We have to say no to this question, for the Lord said: "Strive to enter through the narrow door; for many, I tell you, will try to enter and will not be able[437]

N. T. Wright wrote that "Simple yet profound, ancient yet always fresh; deeply Jewish yet available to all, the Lord's Prayer offers the central message of Jesus in the form best suited to its appropriation."[438] The Lord's Prayer has always been practiced by Christians. If the prayer is not fresh, not available, and does not contain the central message of Jesus for all Christians, it would not be the central prayer in Christendom.

The Lord's Prayer remained the most popular prayer for Christians. Jesus taught the prayer to his disciples, and the prayer was one of Jesus' teachings in the Sermon on

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[436] Crossan, *Greatest Prayer*, 168.

[437] Lk 13:24, NRSV.

[438] Colleen Griffith and Thomas Groome, eds., *Catholic Spiritual Practices: A Treasury of Old and New* (Brewster, MA: Paraclete Press, 2012), 9.

the Mount. Because Jesus himself taught the prayer to his followers, or disciples, the prayer may have been the most important prayer among many other Christian prayers. Reciting the Lord's Prayer is itself an act of prayer. It is also the practice of reading the Bible and itself a subject of meditation. The Lord's Prayer can be practiced as meditative, ritualistic, petitionary, and colloquial prayer. This is because the Lord's Prayer has been considered "a compendium of the whole gospel concerning God, humankind and salvation"[439] by many church leaders and theologians.

The Lord's Prayer became the great Christian prayer. The spiritual authority of Jesus is the first reason. The practice of the prayer and spiritual authority of the early fathers and church is the second reason. The spiritual authority of the Scripture is the third reason. The themes and content of the prayer that are universally and crucially appropriate for Christians are the fourth reason. The reason why the authority of the early fathers and church comes before the authority of the Scripture is that the fathers were the writers of the Scripture and the early church, with Constantine and other emperors, endowed spiritual authority to each holy book included in the Scripture.

The Lord's Prayer does not obviously express the political condition in which Jesus lived. We presume the political condition from scholars' studies in history, politics, sociology, archaeology, and theology. Although we see abundant political themes in the Lord's Prayer, we cannot say that Jesus said the Prayer reflecting on the political conditions of his followers. As I interpreted the Prayer, the meaning of the Prayer depends on the interpreters. One can say that the Prayer reflects the political condition of Jesus' time; the other will say that it is given by Jesus for all generations for spiritual

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[439] Jones, Wainwright, and Yarnold, *Study of Spirituality*, 74.

purposes. This is the same for all teachings of Jesus. There cannot be one absolute

interpretation of Jesus' word. Martin Luther King Jr.'s interpretation of Jesus' message

would be different from Billy Graham's, in spite of their close relationship.

All historical and political interpretation of the Christian spirituality and spiritual

practices of this dissertation can be greatly different from that of other scholars. Three of

the four popular spiritual practices are given the authority and tradition of the early

fathers and church. These practices have biblical roots. The themes and contents of the

four popular practices are appropriate for Christian spiritual life. From a perspective, all

four practices are the products of the work of the Holy Spirit. For some still accepting the

work of the Holy Spirit, the practices can be seen as the reaction of spiritual Christians to

the unspiritual or a-spiritual political world. Let us keep this in mind and go on to analyze

our findings for the conclusion of this dissertation.

In sum, this dissertation's interpretation of the two great historical events related

to the four popular practices indicates that human efforts are found in creating and

developing the four popular practices. Also, the spiritual desires of Christians have been

affected by the political events and conditions of each era. In the beginning of the

practices between the 4th and 5th century, a transitional political condition of the empire

and the Church initiated by Constantine's faith and policies was the greatest actor that

encouraged Christians to have new practices. In the current revival of the practices, our

modern and postmodern political quarrels were the main actors with which Christians'

spiritual desire arose again. A difference between the two periods is the level of spiritual

rights and freedom of individual Christians. Another difference is the more pluralistic

spiritual world through globalization.

This is not just a Christian phenomenon. J. A. van der Ven introduced changes in the Islamic World.[440] We will concentrate on a focal change. In Cairo in 1990, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation adopted The Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam (CDHRI). In the article 1 and 2, it is written:

> All human beings form one family whose members are united by their subordination to Allah and descent from Adam. All men are equal in terms of basic human dignity and basic obligations and responsibilities, without any discrimination on the basis of race, colour, language, belief, sex, religion, political affiliation, social status or other considerations... All human beings are Allah's subjects, and the most loved by Him are those who are most beneficial to His subjects, and no one has superiority over another except on the basis of piety and good deeds. Life is a God-given gift and the right to life is guaranteed to every human being. It is the duty of individuals, societies and states to safeguard this right against any violation, and it is prohibited to take away life except for a shari'ah prescribed reason.[441]

In these articles, all human beings are clearly described as Allah's subjects. All men (human) are equal. God gave life. Rights can be taken away for a shari'ah prescribed reason. Shari'ah or Sharia is the religious law of Islam. In article 12, it is written: Every man shall have the right, within the framework of the Shari'ah. Allah and the Shari'ah are frequently used in the CDHRI. Allah and the Shari'ah are at the center of their understanding of human rights.

The Organization of Islamic Cooperation issued the Charter of the Organization of the Islamic Conference in 2008. In its preamble and the article 15, it is written:

> We the Member States of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, determined... to adhere our commitment to the principles of the United Nations Charter, the present Charter and International Law... to contribute to international peace and security, understanding and dialogue among civilizations, cultures and religions and promote and encourage friendly relations and good neighbourliness, mutual respect and cooperation... to promote human rights and fundamental freedoms, good governance, rule of law, democracy and accountability in Member States in accordance with their constitutional and legal systems...The Independent Permanent Commission on Human Rights shall promote the civil, political, social and economic rights enshrined in the organisation's

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[440] J. A. van der Ven, *Human Rights Or Religious Rules?* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

[441] Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, "Cairo Declaration of Human Rights in Islam," Cairo, August 5, 1990. Reprinted in *Forced Migration Review.* accessed September 13, 2014. http://www.fmreview.org/Human-Rights/cairo.

covenants and declarations and in universally agreed human rights instruments, in conformity with Islamic values.[442]

The Council of the League of Arab States adopted Arab Charter on Human Rights in 2004, and the Charter was entered into force in 2008. The article 1 is like the following:

> ...To place human rights at the centre of the key national concerns of Arab States, making them lofty and fundamental ideals that shape the will of the individual in Arab States and enable him to improve his life in accordance with noble human values...To teach the human person in the Arab States pride in his identity, loyalty to his country, attachment to his land, history and common interests and to instill in him a culture of human brotherhood, tolerance and openness towards others, in accordance with universal principles and values and with those proclaimed in international human rights instruments..to prepare the new generations in Arab States for a free and responsible life in a civil society that is characterized by solidarity, founded on a balance between awareness of rights and respect for obligations, and governed by the values of equality, tolerance and moderation...to entrench the principle that all human rights are universal, indivisible, interdependent and interrelated... [443]

We see a difference between the Cairo Declaration and the other two charters. We do not see Allah and the Shari'ah in their support of human rights and the international human rights. In the Cairo Declaration, it was obvious that they supported international human rights firmly with and through their religious convictions. In the other charters, they show that they are open to other religions, cultures, and understandings of the international human rights. Many Islamic states and leaders gathered and decided that they would support universal human rights. Their support of human rights includes terms like race, color, language, belief, sex, religion, political affiliation, social status, human value, understanding and dialogue, culture, democracy, and more. The Islamic recognition of the global pluralistic world is described well in these statements.

The spiritual right and freedom were not important themes in the Church. These were supported when the Church stood against the secular powers. In the Church' politics,

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[442] The Council of the League of Arab States, "The Charter of the Organization of the Islamic Conference," accessed September 13, 2014, http://www.comcec.org/EN_YE/default.aspx.
[443] "University of Minnesota Human Rights Library," accessed September 13, 2014, http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instree/loas2005.html.

spiritual unity and authority were the primary concern. Unity and authority are two significant elements that sustain the life and order of the Church. These values must be respected and preserved. In the early church, these values helped the Church be united under Jesus, Peter, and their successors. In medieval times, the power of the Church leaders was overly practiced over all aspects of public and political life. The result of the abuse of their power and the kings and aristocrats' power stimulated the desire for rights and freedom. Today's revival of the four popular practices allows more rights and freedom to their practitioners. Many individual Christians and groups perform the practices for various reasons in different ways. The places for the practices can be anywhere they choose. One can be a self-director for his or her spiritual practices. They are leaders of their spiritual life. They are the subjects of their spiritual life.

The meaning of the birth and revival of the four popular practices is that Christian spirituality and spiritual practices are sensitive to political changes. This sensitivity could be called the political nature of Christian spirituality and spiritual practices. Regarding all of our interpretations of history, I will briefly explain what this sensitivity means through the political lens we have used for the previous chapters. The sensitivity first means that Christian spirituality and practices embrace spiritual-political ideas. Second, these generate and pursue authority and power with which the Church can function as a government for the spiritual well-being of its members. Third, these are capable of creating new political culture in the Church. Fourth, these help Christians to resist or support political activities of power. Fifth, these provide spiritual shelter and territory. Sixth, these have capacity to transform themselves for new political situations. Seventh, these are the indicator that shows the influences of political activities. Eighth, these

change the body, mind, spirit, and the world. Ninth, these are the means for unity, identity, and citizenship. Tenth, these can be used for politics, and vice versa. Eleventh, these are power.

The conclusion of this dissertation says that Christian spirituality and the spiritual practices are sensitive to political changes and can be viewed political through observing the 11 theses above. The reason why I used" the popular practices" for the title of this dissertation is because Dr. Rogers suggested it. Maybe he knew the conclusion of this dissertation before I started this study. Popular spiritual practices are different from ordinary practices. What are ordinary spiritual practices? They are talking, crying, murmuring, shouting, silencing, standing, sitting, reading, writing, and attending. They need to be processed to become a popular practice. They need to contain proper meanings and content. They need authority, history, and tradition. They need a political setting. Tongsung Kido of the Korean churches is simply a form of prayer with which Korean Christians shout and cry to God. The political setting Korean Christians experienced was imperialistic. By the time the prayer was born in the early 20th century, the King Kojong was forced to resign by Japan. In two years, Korea was completely occupied by Japan after suffering from long political and military violence starting in the mid-19th century. In the U.S. in the early 20th century, the political situation of the Pentecostal Christians should be a reason for the birth and spread of the movement. The Pentecostal prayer is just like Todung Kido. This form of prayer is now a dominant prayer in the Korean protestant churches and in Pentecostal churches.

Spirit and spiritual beings read and feel politics. Spirit and spiritual beings respond to politics. Spirit and spiritual beings want to engage in politics to actualize the

Will of God on earth as in the Lord's Prayer. The Prayer of Jesus asks Christians to realize the Kingdom and the Will of God. The political desire of spirits and spiritual beings is found in their faith. This desire is now being asked to be separated from real politics in our pluralistic world. It is right to say that no religion should be a dominant religion and political powers that abuses its power in a pluralistic state. However, it is wrong to say that they should stop making an effort to realize their religious and political ideologies. It is a nature of a religion. Our political world is still very religious.

Spiritual formation in this political setting needs to encourage a pluralistic and participatory spirituality and spiritual practices that help Christians to resist their desires to monopolize, exploit, and conquer the political world and that encourage Christians to have more democratic and spiritual value-based concepts of politics to play a role as an absorber against the negative effects of politics and globalization. They should create an alternative view and culture in Christian politics. Here participatory means collective, but still each participant and practitioner is not a blind follower. If a spirituality and spiritual practice become too personal or private, the spirituality and practice will lose its authority and influence. Spirituality and practices must maintain certain degree of collectivity and authority for its aimed functions and purposes. If collectivity and authority is overly emphasized, they will lose their authority again. Therefore, participatory spirituality and practices means a balance between authority and freedom and right. This means spirituality and spiritual practices need to maintain and develop political sensitivity as they have always been. Christian spiritual formation must recognize and analyze its political nature and context. Progressive Christians may develop their own ways of spiritual formation. Conservative Christians will freely have their own methods to

strengthen spiritual formation. There is no one absolute answer. One thing each should

share is compassion and love for others as Christians and humans. God causes His sun

rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the progressive and conservative alike.

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